

HAGHIA SOPHIA IN TRABZON

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Rezumat: Sfânta Sofia este o bisericuță localizată în NE Turciei. Din cauza dimensiunilor sale, în comparație cu cele ale Sf. Sofia din Istanbul, a primit numele de „Sf. Sofia cea mică”. Când sultanul Mehmed II Cuceritorul a adăugat Trapezuntul (Trabzon) la Imperiul Otoman, a transformat catedrala principală a orașului în moschee. El nu a transformat Haghia Sophia în moschee, deși era cea mai frumoasă construcție a Comnenilor. La peste 100 ani de la cucerire Haghia Sophia a fost convertită în moschee, după ce servise drept biserică peste 300 ani, fiind utilizată în calitate de moschee până la ocupația rusă din 1916. Perioada în care a fost folosită ca moschee a fost mai lungă decât cea în care Haghia Sophia a funcționat în calitate de biserică. După întemeierea Republicii Turcia, Sf. Sofia a continuat să funcționeze o perioadă în calitate de moschee iar frescele au fost acoperite cu tencuială albă, cu excepția unora curățate de către arheologul rus Uspensky, în timpul ocupației ruse. Restaurările efectuate la pictura murală în a doua jumătate a secolului al XX – lea au scos la suprafață fresce de o deosebită valoare artistică. Cele mai frumoase scene ale Sfintei Sofia sunt plasate în nartexul de sud-est. Aici atrag în mod deosebit atenția frizele ce prezintă momentul Creației lui Adam și a Evei. Turnul clopotniță este mai nou cu circa 200 de ani decât biserica, având în interior picturi murale deosebit de valoroase.

Abstract: Haghia Sophia is a small Church located to the North East of Turkey. Because of its dimensions when compared with Haghia Sophia in Istanbul it is called also “Small Haghia Sophia”. When Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror added Trabzon in the Ottoman Borders, he converted the main cathedral of city into a Mosque. However, he did not converted Haghia Sophia into a Mosque though it was the most beautiful building of Comnens. About one hundred years after the conquest, Haghia Sophia was converted into a mosque after it served as a church over 300 years and used as a mosque until the Russian occupation in 1916. The period of usage as a mosque was longer than that as a church.

After the foundation of modern Turkish Republic, Haghia Sophia continued to be used as a mosque for a while, and all frescos during this time were under white wash except some cleaned by Russian Archeologist Uspensky during Russian Occupation. The most beautiful carvings of Haghia Sophia are placed on the southern narthex, the frizzes showing the creation of Adam and Eva. The Bell Tower about 200 years younger than the main complex also includes elaborate paintings in the small cell at the middle.

Résumé: *Haghia Sophia était une petite église localisée au Nord-Est de la Turquie. A cause de ses dimensions, lorsqu'on fit la comparaison avec Haghia Sophia d'Istanbul, on lui donna le nom de "Petite Haghia Sophia". Lorsque le sultan Mahomet le Conquérant ajouta Trabzon, aussi, aux possessions de l'Empire Ottoman, il transforma la cathédrale principale de la ville en Mosquée. Pourtant, il ne transforma pas Haghia Sophia en Mosquée, quoique celle-ci fût le plus bel édifice des Commènes. Presque cent ans après la conquête, on transforma Haghia Sophia en mosquée, après avoir servi comme église presque 300 années. Elle fut utilisée en tant que mosquée jusqu'à l'occupation russe de 1916. La période d'usage comme mosquée fut plus longue que celle d'église.*

Après la fondation de la République Turque moderne, Haghia Sophia continua à être utilisée comme mosquée pour une certaine période de temps et toutes les fresques furent couvertes toute cette période par une couche blanche de chaux, excepté quelques-unes nettoyées par l'archéologue russe Uspensky pendant l'occupation russe. Les plus belles représentations de Haghia Sophia se trouvent sur la nef sud: il s'agit des frises montrant la création d'Adam et Eve. La tour de la cloche est plus jeune avec 200 années que le complexe principal et inclut de peintures élaborées dans la petite chambre du milieu.

Keywords: *Haghia Sofia Church, Trabzon, Byzantine Empire, Ottoman Empire, Russia, architecture, religious paintings.*

Introduction

Anatolia boasts three Haghia Sophias which have great importance for Christianity. One of them is the most renowned Byzantine cathedral, the Haghia Sophia of Istanbul being an architectural masterpiece with its enormous height and large dome (325-360 AD). Its construction has begun during the reign of Constantine and completed by his son Constantine the IInd; it was opened for worshipping in 360.¹ The Second important temple called Haghia Sophia is Iznik (*Niceea*) Haghia Sophia; it was built by Emperor Justinian in the VIth centuries. Even though it is not as big or as architecturally important as the Istanbul Haghia Sophia, it is also very important for Christianity because The First Ecumenical Council of Christianity in 325 AD discussing Trinity had summoned in Iznik, and The Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787 AD was held in this temple under the leadership of Patriarch Tarasios. During the Seventh Ecumenical Council especially, serious disputes broke out regarding iconoclast and gaps in the Christian faith deepened. Decisions were made on some basic principles of Christianity during this Council.²

The third Haghia Sophia is located at the far eastern side of both, at a spot that could be assumed to be the far end of Anatolia. It is Trabzon Haghia Sophia (also

¹ Yücel Akal, *İstanbul*, Keskin Color Kartpostalçılık San. ve Paz. A.Ş., 2007 İstanbul. p.30.

² Jane Taylor, *İmparatorlukların Başkenti İstanbul* [Capital of Empires İstanbul], Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, Kanaat Basımevi, 2000, İstanbul, p. 360.

known as Small Haghia Sophia), which was built outside the city walls, by Comnenus King Manuel I (1238-1263), in a Byzantine province style, with a Georgian conical dome, Seljuk stone carving and embroidery harmonized in its construction. The stone works, carvings and construction of the temple brought together different national and cultural art styles. Especially at the southern narthex entrance of Trabzon Haghia Sophia the embroideries are unique and special to this temple. Haghia Sophia means "Sacred Wisdom" meanwhile in Christianity it is one of Jesus names.

In the year of 1204, the Trabzon state was built with contributions by the Georgian Queen Tamara to the Comnenus Dynasty, and in a short time they established alliances by marriage, in order to assure their continued existence. At its very beginning they fought against the Byzantine state founded in Iznik and established alliances with and paid taxes to Anatolian Seljuks and Mongols. To break free from the Mongol's governance in the reign of Manuel I, they tried to establish kinship with France with a marriage of a Comnenus princess to the French King Louis, but France did not care about this proposal. Later again, through marriage, close relationship and cooperation have been established with the Byzantine Paleologos dynasty.³ All of these different and complicated political relationships made their mark on the Trabzon art and architecture. The most important one of these, in regard to Haghia Sophia's history is the Anatolian Seljuk, whose influence can easily be seen on the ornamentation.

When Comnenus initially founded Trabzon state centred from Batumi to Samsun, the first king Alexious attacked the Byzantine state's newly crowned king Laskaris in Iznik. But on his campaign, near Samsun, he came across the Seljuk Sultan Keykavus army who was in control of this region. After Sinop's fall to the Seljuk, an agreement was signed between them and Alexious who agreed to be under the governance of Seljuks and pay tribute. In 1244, after Kosedag Battle, Trabzon state allied with the Mongols and after the collapse of political union in Anatolia, came under the governance of Mongols. Those years coincide with the date of Haghia Sophia's construction.

Trabzon Haghia Sophia is located at the right side of the state road entering the city from the west and about 2 km distance from the so-called old city, inside of Middle Forest. Haghia Sophia and the Bell Tower added at a later date were built on a rock cape, at a spot overlooking the sea side on the site of a former Roman Basilica. But due to the silting up of the sea over time, and because of the construction of the state coastal road here, the Haghia Sophia and Bell Tower are about half km away from the sea side. Talbot Rice says that at the place where Haghia Sophia was built⁴

³ Talbot Tamara Rice, *Trabzon Ayasofya'sındaki Selçuklu Üslubunda Süslemeler* [Seljuk Style Ornaments in Trabzon Hagia Sophia], Çev. Solmaz Turunç, Bir Tutkudur Trabzon, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1. Baskı 1997, İstanbul, p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 71-73.

there was a former Monastery complex.

Even though Haghia Sophia is a Byzantine building, as mentioned before, due to the complicated political relations of the Comnenos dynasty, its ornaments and architecture carry eclectic elements. On the southern front there is a series of irrelevant stone ornaments whose features resemble XIIth century churches in the Vladimir-Suzdal region of Russia, especially in Vladimir, as in the much more carefully ornamented stone embossing on the front of the Church of St. Dimitri, dated 1195-1200.⁵ Considering the close relationship and kinship between Trabzon State and the Georgian Kingdom, and the obvious Georgian influence on those ornaments, the stone carvings and embossing on the southern front do not carry the same features. Two of those stones are definitely in the Seljuk style and another one partly. At the entrance of the Western front ex-Narthex there are nine stones carved and ornamented in Seljuk style. At Haghia Sophia especially *mukarnas** works on the column capitals reflect Seljuk art style features, two of most commonly used elements of Seljuk art: star and rosette motifs can frequently be observed. Motifs on the lower register of southern moulding second (figure-1) from the left and at the right side of the northern brim (figure-2) have the same specialties and appearance of a more carefully carved group of motif variations of Divrigi Ulu Mosque and Hospital *Darussifa* built almost at the same time 1228.⁶

To Rice although exo-narthex of Haghia Sophia and north entrance face stone mould ornaments have been influenced by Seljuk fabric and carpets, they are exactly the same as Seljuk stone work and wood carving features. The main entrance in the south is the most important and ornamented section of the building. Masonry and ornaments are predominantly Seljuk and Islamic artwork on the facade. The north entrance hosts eight stone carvings in Seljuk style besides the interior walls. As a result, motifs seen in Haghia Sophia are splendid examples of Seljuk ornamentations to be found in Divrigi, the very end of the west border of the Seljuks. Islamic art found in Haghia Sophia ornamentations is identical to that found in Anatolian Seljuks' XIIIth century buildings. In those days the fame of the Seljuk stonework extended to Kherson and that kind of ornamentation was in fashion.⁷

Haghia Sophia gives its name to a quarter in the city and it is next to the quarter called "Fatih" which means the "Conqueror". The name comes from Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror.

Haghia Sophia was built in 1250–1260 at the time of Manuel Comnenus I, (1238–1263) one of the Trabzon state kings. It was built on a terrace of a Roman

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

* *Mukarnas: A Turkish ornamentation resembling Central Asian Turkish tents, used in the portals of Caravansaries, Madrasahs and Mosques.*

⁶ Rice, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

pagan temple of Apollo. The three-apse ruined chapel located in the north yard must be an earlier one. The plan of Haghia Sophia is squared-cross shape, with four columns carrying the high main conical dome. Eastern openings of side naves are barrel-vaulted, the long openings on the west are covered by cross-vaults. The barrel vaulted roof in the north is longer than the southern and thus a lengthwise appearance has been given to the building resembling domed basilicas. Moreover, in three directions the three entrances (porticos) opening with three arches solely are essential architectural components and this peculiarity marks the difference between Haghia Sophia and traditional Byzantine architecture.⁸

As a fine example of late Byzantine building, it has a high centred dome and a narthex with three naves. The nave in the middle has five cornered semi-circle apse and the ones on both sides end in round apse. John Freely mentions that the apse in the south is *diaconicon* or is the room in which relics were kept. The room in the north is for *prothesis* namely Communion-*Cudas* ritual preparations. The place next to the *diaconicon* has not been paved and it is believed to be the burial place of Manuel Comnenus I.⁹ The west end has a chapel and a narthex the same size with the western portal. South, north and west narthexes have been covered with barrel vault and opened outside with three arches carried by two arched columns. Portal columns and their capitals are all reused marble and they date back to different dates prior to the Vth century. Four impost capitals used in the building having same typology are unique and extremely well ornamented. The bunch grapes, vegetable patterns in Sasanid fashion cover the entire body. Similar capitals to those in Haghia Sophie have been found nearby Topkapı Palace. The capitals show the VIth century Byzantine art and they must be carved in Capital and brought to Trabzon. Porticos at the three sides have been used before and gathered capitals at their entrances. There are two composite capitals to the south and two pane typed capitals to the north.¹⁰

Reliefs on friezes over south face were carved on different stones and the *Genesis* scene (Old Testament) is pictured. The key stone has an open-winged single-headed eagle- *aetos* looking towards east.¹¹ It symbolizes the Comnenus Kingdom that ruled Trabzon for 257 years. A similar eagle pattern is situated on the exterior

⁸ Sadi Dilaver, *Tarihsel Yapılarıyla Trabzon, Bir Tutkudur Trabzon* [Trabzon with its Historical Buildings], Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997 İstanbul, 1. Baskı. p. 87-88.

⁹ John Freely, *Türkiye Uygarlıklar Rehberi 2, Marmara Etrafında Karadeniz Kıyısı* [Turkey Civilizations Guide 2, Around Marmara and Black Sea Coast], Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 4. Baskı, 2008 İstanbul, p. 126-128.

¹⁰ Bilban Yalçın Asnu, *Trabzon'da Erken Bizans Dönemi Mimari Plastik Eserler Üzerine Değerlendirmeler* [Evaluations of Trabzon Early Byzantine Architectural Plastic Carvings], Karadeniz Tarihi Sempozyumu (25-26 Mayıs 2008) Bildirileri, KTÜ Yayını, I. Cilt, 2007 Trabzon. p. 41-42.

¹¹ Jakop Philip Fallmerayer, *Doğu'dan Fragmanlar* [Fragments from the East], İmge Kitabevi, Çeviren; Hüseyin Salihoğlu, 2002, p. 97.

walls of the main apse.* Just below the key stone are the doves looking towards east and west, square frames with a star and crescent, centaur and griffon (apocalyptic creatures) figures from Bible, arabesques, spiral ornaments, grape leaves and bunches representing fertility in Christianity and all of them were decorated with great mastery.¹²

Surprisingly, similar to the Turkish flag, the relief showing the moon and the sun shaped star should not be considered a Hellenic, Roman, Seljuk or Georgian symbol but a Mithra cult religious symbol which existed in the Black Sea culture for thousands of years. The Mithra symbol could be seen on coins of Pontus Emperor Mithrates who lived centuries before Haghia Sophia was built. Ahura Mazda and Zoroastrian cult is the origin of the symbol. The crescent represents the night and wickedness whilst the sun represents goodness. "The sun prayer" relating to this cult has continued recently on the highlands in the Black Sea area. D. Talbot Rice, in his book "Haghia Sophia" says that: the exterior walls of Haghia Sophia have ship carvings made by Mediterranean sailors who believed that God would bring them luck and protect them while fishing and sailing. The carvings are dated 1450-1850's and it is not clear by whom they were carved or for what purpose. It is thought that they were carved by different sailors probably because they believed the local people are blessed, and because they wanted God's help whilst sailing.

The interior walls of the southern portal host faded frescoes. The eastern portal wall has a verse of The Holy Koran saying: "*And that the mosques are Allah's, therefore call not upon any one with Allah*" (Cin, 72/18).¹³

The space under the central dome was covered with nine different coloured marble called *opus sectile*.* To the north, west and southern entrances of the temple there are three porticos. The frame of the dome is a dodecagon having twelve corners reminding the twelve apostles. Events from the Bible were depicted in the frescoes of Haghia Sophia. The frescoes are fairly good examples of Byzantine Renaissance art.

The building, according to Evliya Celebi's record, was converted into a mosque in 1577 following the conquest of Trabzon by Sultan Mehmet the Conqueror and became a Foundation-*Vakf*. Haghia Sophia attracted travellers and researchers for centuries. Evliya Celebi, (1648) famous for his travels talks about Trabzon in his

* Double Headed Eagle Motif: Byzantine Empire's state symbol was double headed eagle representing Eastern and Western Rome. The double headed eagle motif has been used in Anatolia long before Byzantines. For instance, the entrance in Bogazköy, the capital of the oldest known Empire of Anatolia, the Hittite Empire, hosts double headed eagle motif. Seljuks also used double headed eagle motif as their state symbol.

¹² Fallmerayer, *op. cit*, p. 95.

¹³ *The Holy Koran*, Cin Surah, 72/18.

* Opus Sectile: Stone or marble inlay or tiling using pieces of cut to follow the outline of the design.

well-known book “*Seyahatname-travels*”: “*Haghia Sophia is by the sea. It was built at a time of unbelievers, later a governor and philanthropist informs the Sultan about the building and by the decree of the sultan it was converted into a mosque and used for that purpose from then on*”.¹⁴

Haghia Sophia was visited and mentioned in diaries and memories. The ruined building was restored with a donation from Rıza Efendi in 1864. The building served as a depot and hospital at the time of Russian invasion. Russian Archaeologist F. I. Uspensky arranged some excavations around the building and unearths some of the frescos. Uspensky was charged to collect and classify historical monuments of Trabzon. After the occupation it was turned into mosque again. 1958-1962 are the years when the building saw a proper joint restoration by Edinburgh University and Charity Directorate of Turkey. All frescoes were cleaned, restored, and Haghia Sophia opened to visits as a museum.

Bell Tower

British traveller and researcher G. Finlay dates the building of the Bell Tower from 1426 to 1427. It is unique – there are no others the same in Byzantine churches. Set 25 meters to the west, the tower is in Venetian style. Frescoes inside the tower were restored by the Russell Trust in 1961. Papadopoulos adds that the tower served as an observatory and hosted lectures on astronomy. It was probably also used as a lighthouse. One of the Comnenus kings, Kalo Johannes, who could not bear his father and predecessor Alexios IV, living a long life and caprices killed him, and ascended the throne and had this event portrayed with himself over the eastern face of the Bell Tower.¹⁵ Only traces of this fresco have survived today, being indistinguishable.

J. P. Fallmerayer mentions about the Bell Tower that: “*The bell tower having a short narrow mouth has 120 feet height, at twelve steps distance to the church, built as isolated on a cliff terrace by the sea. It is in rectangle shape, the stone steps leading to entrance built twenty steps above ground have been partly broken. The entrance directly enters into a frescoes cell and resembles a small temple. Besides interior frescoes are liturgics also there are figures of clergies passed away here. There is a semi-circle outer part resembling a mosque’s niche. The year inscribed in accordance with Byzantine calendar shows the date of 6941 and with modern calendar this date is 1433*”.¹⁶

The Bell Tower today hosts fairly well preserved frescoes and by the ladders situated inside it is possible to climb up to the fresco cell. The niche Fallmerayer

¹⁴ Zekeriya Kurşun, *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesinde Trabzon, Bir Tutkudur Trabzon* [Trabzon in Evliya Celebi’s Travel Book], Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1997 İstanbul, p. 216-217.

¹⁵ Freely, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

¹⁶ Fallmerayer, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

talks about is visible from the outside. The explanations of the Bell Tower frescoes will be given later.

The Frescoes of the Haghia Sophia

In Haghia Sophia the paintings visible at present owe their existence mostly to the Ottoman Empire's indulgence. Because the policy of the Ottomans while converting churches into mosques was not to obliterate the paintings but just cover them with a white paint allowing numerous frescoes to carry their original colour, quality and magnificence to the present day. All paintings in Haghia Sophia have been cleaned and exposed today. The most well preserved paintings exist today in the main body of the church, in the narthex to the west and in the chapel of the Bell Tower which stands not far from the west door. At Haghia Sophia the *narrative cycle* has been followed in a range of paintings. Like Sumela Monastery's rock church's eastern masonry, some scenes in the aisle have been repeated at the narthex to the west. When ruins on arched vaults and walls were investigated carefully it was easily observed that, once upon a time the internal area of the church was entirely covered by paintings.

Though there is no inscription showing the date of paintings, D. Talbot Rice points out that the style used shows clearly enough that they belong at the latest to the 13th and probably to the 14th centuries and the paintings already suggest the manner of the Byzantine revival.

At Haghia Sophia the paintings are of considerable interest regarding style and iconography. The colouring is also less fine, though it is considerably developed. Behind full length figures there are black and dark green backgrounds and have inky black, thunderous skies, which appear behind the scenes. There is a general sense of depth and space and a definite attempt at modelling, which may perhaps be due to western influence. This would be easily conveyed by means of Venetian or Genoese trading, throughout the mid-15th century.

The work essentially reflects features of local schools, though the paintings are nevertheless very well executed. The paintings have the attraction of being well preserved and owe this to being plastered over by the Ottomans. Inscriptions and signs show that especially in the bell tower paintings were executed by two monks and this shows that the artists were capable of executing this work well on into the 15th century. This case proves that, early wall-painters or artists living in Trabzon were doubtlessly professionals.¹⁷

¹⁷ Millet, Gabriel and Rice, D. Talbot, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond*, Published by Academie Des Inscriptions at Belles-Lettres and University of London, 1st Published in 1936. p. 95.

Starting Haghia Sophia's paintings explanation from plastic friezes placed at the southern Narthex's outer wall surface will make the work easier. Nevertheless, the ornaments on the southern Narthex are not frescoes, as it was told before, but they are majestic and marvellous.

Friezes on the southern narthex wall

Information about ornaments on the southern Narthex wall has been given before. Almost under the keystone, there is a Comnenus State symbol, single headed eagle, looking to the east. Under this eagle, holy in Christianity and representing the Holy Spirit, there are two pigeons with tails entwined. It is said they also symbolize peace and friendship in the lands. At both sides of the cubic cross shaped window there are crescent and stars based on the Mythra cult and under them there is a sundial. Though one of them to the west has fallen down over time, at both sides there are apocalyptic creature figures and under both there is an inscription register. Below the inscription register, creation scenes from the Old Testament's Book of Genesis are carved symmetrically. The scene is carved from right to left by viewing angle. In the Monastery of Sumela the same scenes are painted, but this time depiction starts from left to right. Nowadays both of them include a very detailed narration. The Genesis scene in Sumela has the advantage of being painted, depicted in a more detailed and understandable manner. In Sumela also, creation of the earth, located in the first register on the east side surface is depicted very well. From right to left, although the first scene has partly lost its features, it animates the creation of Adam and Eve.

According to the Book of Genesis from the Old Testament, God made the man (Adam) from the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life. Later he had planted a garden in the east, in Eden and there he put the man he had made. In the first scene of the frieze, man's creation and plants in the garden God created are animated. A river watering the garden flowed from Eden; from there it was separated into four headwaters by the names Pishon, Gihon, Tigris and Euphrates. Man had been commanded that he was free to eat from any tree in the garden except the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, for when he would eat of it he would surely die.

One day, God caused the man to fall into a deep sleep; and while he was sleeping, he took one of the man's ribs and closed up the place with flesh. Then the God made a woman (Eve) from the rib he had taken out of the man. The serpent was craftier than any of the wild animals God had made. One day the serpent came to the woman and deceiving her told her that if she would eat fruit from the prohibited tree she would be like God, knowing good and evil. The women ate the fruit and also gave some to her husband and he also ate it. In the third scene from right to left, the serpent deceiving the woman can easily be seen. Until this time man and woman were naked

and had felt no shame. Then, the eyes of both of them were opened, and they realized they were naked so they sewed fig leaves together and made coverings for themselves. In the last scene on the first part of the frieze, fig leaves show the shame of Adam and Eve and their struggle to make coverings for themselves. Adam named his wife Eve because she would become the mother of all the living. As a punishment for not listening God's command, they were both expelled from the Garden of Eden to work the ground from which man had been taken. Adam and Eve first had a son named Cain and later another son named Abel. Cain was working the soil and Abel was keeping flocks. When they offered their offerings to God, Cain was stingy and brought some of the fruits of the soil whereas Abel had brought an offering from some of the firstborn of his flock. Cain's offerings were not accepted by God, whilst Abel's were favoured. Cain was very angry, and his face was downcast and one day he killed his brother in the field. On the frieze in the last scene, the standing figure is Cain killing his brother and the figure lying on the ground is Abel killed by him.¹⁸

If we compare Creation with Islamic Sources we come across with partly similar story. Whereas, differing at some points, the creation of Adam and Eve in Islam is partly similar to the story in the Old Testament. After the creation of the universe, Allah commands angels to bring mud from the earth and creates Adam, breaths him from His soul and impersonates him. In The Holy Koran's Ali Imran Surah it is clearly pointed out that Adam was created from the earth.¹⁹ Because Adam was created by dust from the earth he is named Adam. Adam was created and put into heaven on Friday. Contrary to other angels Satan *Iblis* refuses to prostrate himself before Adam and argues that he is superior because he was created from fire while Adam had been created from clay. While Adam was walking around alone in heaven he was put into a deep sleep by Allah and Eve was created from his left rib bone to be a follow to him. When Adam awoke he is surprised to see Eve and asks her who she is.

Because she was created from a living being she was named Eve. Adam and Eve, as spouses lived together in heaven for a while. They were allowed to eat any fruit of each tree, except for one of them and both had been warned about Satan. One day, Satan whispers evil to Adam saying: "*But the Shaitan made an evil suggestion to him; he said: O Adam! Shall I guide you to the tree of immortality and a kingdom which decays not?*"²⁰ (Taha, 20/120). First Eve eats the forbidden fruit and tells her husband Adam that nothing bad had happened to her, so Adam to also eats the fruit. After eating the fruit, their nakedness appears to them, they began to sew leaves together from Heaven to cover themselves. Both are expelled from Heaven on to the earth on a Friday. It is told that Adam was sent to a place named Serendip in the Nevz

¹⁸ *Old Testament*, The Bible Society in Turkey, 2006 İstanbul, Genesis, Chapter 1:26. p. 3-6.

¹⁹ *The Holy Koran*, Ali Imran- 3/59.

²⁰ *The Holy Koran*, Taha, 20/120.

Mountains in India while Eve was sent to Jeddah in Arabia.²¹

In Islamic sources Adam and Eves' sons' birth and names differ from the Old Testament. The first born son's name is not Cain but Kabil. Also, according to Islam sources their children were born each time as twins, one male and one female. In the Old Testament there is no such information about female's birth and Cain was born alone. Each time Eve gives birth to a twin one male and one female, the first time twins, Kabil and his sister Lubud were born. The second time twins Abel and his sister Iklima were born. In accordance with Divine command first born daughter and subsequently born son can marry each other and vice versa. Twins were not allowed to marry each other. Kabil's sister Lubud was more beautiful than Abel's sister Iklima, and disobeying Divine order Kabil desired to marry his twin sister Lubud.²² The dispute goes on between the two and their father Adam tells them to offer sacrifice to Allah and the one whose sacrifice is accepted by Allah would have the right. Farmer Kabil offers his mostly unqualified products, while Abel offers his best sheep in the Nevz Mountains. Whereas Abel's offer was accepted by Allah, Kabil's was refused. Kabil was angry because of this and when Abel was sleeping while his flocks were feeding, Kabil arrives there and strikes Abel's head with a stone and kills his brother. Thus the first murder on the earth was committed by Kabil.

Conclusion

Trabzon Haghia Sophia is one of the three special buildings of Turkey bearing the title of "Haghia Sophia". Commens had built it to show their power and loyalty to Christianity, Ottoman also respected this at the very beginning of conquest.

According to Trabzon Tourism and Culture Directorate's statistic, in the year of 2012 including the month of August, 87.9674 domestic and 10.900 foreign visitors came to see Haghia Sophia. The total number of visitors in 2012, until the beginning of September is 98.876.

Since 1962 Haghia Sophia is an open air museum, and still there are very beautiful samples of late Byzantine renaissance stylized frescoes. Unfortunately, there are some newly erected buildings around the monument, but the Municipality of Trabzon put in force a plan cleaning all them out. When it was built, Haghia Sophia was siding Black Sea whereas today it is about 500m far from the sea, due to high way construction on filled areas.

As an 800 years old building, with its remaining frescoes, plastic frizzes and Latin stylized bell tower, Haghia Sophia witness the history of Trabzon. Its garden as an open air museum includes tombstones from Romans to Ottomans, stone carved

²¹ Köksal, M. Asım, *Peygamberler Tarihi* [History of Prophets], Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 10. Baskı, 1. Cilt, 2007 Ankara, p. 29-44.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 50-51.

donation boxes, church, pagan temple and mosque columns, capitals and ornaments belonging to several civilizations that have passed through the area.

This paper, focused on the history of Haghia Sophia, is trying to say some words about its paintings, especially the plastic frizzes on the southern narthex. Those frizzes are carved on 22 block stones. Despite the fact that they were carved about 800 years ago and the area faced several wars from that time until the present day, they are in fairly good order.

We don't know the exact date when the building was converted into a mosque, but we are sure that it was not converted in the time of the conquest of Trabzon. There are still going on arguments on the date given by Evliya Çelebi but 1577 overcomes with historical events of the era and must be correct or at least it is a more reasonable date than other suggestions.

SPREADING BULGARIAN MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS WITH NATURAL SCIENCE CONTENT IN WALLACHIA AND MOLDAVIA

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Rezumat: *Filosofia medievală bulgară și științele naturale au avut o importanță majoră pentru dezvoltarea științelor naturale ale slavilor ortodocși și în țările balcanice: Serbia, Rusia, Țara Românească și Moldova. După cucerirea otomană a Bulgariei, multe manuscrise bulgărești valoroase au fost scoase din țară, iar mulți savanți, grămăticici și clerici bulgari au fost trimiși în exil. Acest articol prezintă răspândirea științelor naturale în principatele Țara Românească și Moldova prin intermediul manuscriselor și lucrărilor traduse din limbile greacă și bulgară, precum Physiologus, Hexaameronul lui Severianus de Cabala, Miscelaneumul lui Simeon (Izbornik Svyatoslava, 1073), Erotapokriseis etc.*

Abstract: *Bulgarian medieval Philosophy and Natural Sciences were of great significance for the development of the natural sciences of the Orthodox Slavs and in the Balkan countries: Serbia, Russia, Wallachia and Moldavia. After the Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria, many valuable Bulgarian manuscripts were taken out of the country and many Bulgarian scholars, grammarians and clergymen were sent into exile. This article presents the spread of the natural sciences in the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia by the preserved manuscripts and translations of Greek and Bulgarian works, such as "Physiologus", "Hexaameron" by Severianus of Cabala, Symeon's "Miscellany", ("Izbornik Svyatoslava" 1073), Erotapokriseis, etc.*

Résumé: *La philosophie médiévale bulgare et les sciences naturelles eurent une importance majeure dans le développement des sciences naturelles des Slaves orthodoxes et dans les pays balkaniques: la Serbie, la Russie, la Valachie et la Moldavie. Après la conquête ottomane de la Bulgarie, plusieurs manuscrits bulgares précieux furent emmenés du pays, pendant que plusieurs savants, grammairiens et clercs bulgares furent envoyés à l'exil. L'article ci-joint présente le répandissement des sciences naturelles dans les Principautés de la Valachie et de la Moldavie à l'intermédiaire des manuscrits et des ouvrages traduits des langues grecque et bulgare, comme Le Physiologus, Le Hexaameron de Severianus de Cabala, Le Miscellané de Simeon (Izbornik Svyatoslava, 1073), Erotapokriseis, etc.*

Keywords: Slavonic manuscripts, miscellanies, Bulgarian culture.

At the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th, the development of culture in the Wallachian and Moldavian principalities was strongly influenced by the Bulgarian medieval culture. The Slavonic and Proto-Bulgarian culture had prevailed in these territories long before the creation of the Bulgarian State. After the adoption of Christianity in Bulgaria, Old Bulgarian culture was established over the entire territory, including the so-called Transdanubian Lands.

Bulgarian medieval philosophy and natural sciences had a great significance for the Balkan countries such as Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia, and for Russia as well. Depending on their specific features, these countries adopted and developed a typological cultural model created in Bulgaria on the basis of Byzantine culture and science. As the Byzantine culture and science was very rich, they differed in this respect from the typological model. A new cultural and historical trend was created in Bulgaria, and it became specific for Serbia, Russia, Wallachia and Moldavia from the Middle Ages up until the penetration of the Renaissance culture and science from West Europe, which laid the foundation of modern culture and science.¹

Thanks to the new researches in the last decades, we come to the conclusion that Moldavia has a leading role in spreading the Bulgarian culture, compared to Serbia and Russia.² The cultural development of Wallachian and Moldavian principalities was under the influence of Russian and Central Europe, but it was established by the type of culture developed in Bulgaria and Bulgarian lands.

The typological cultural model created in Bulgaria was also found in Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia. During the Middle Ages, Serbian culture and natural sciences had been developed within the framework of that model, while later the direct contacts with Byzantine culture were increased and the influence of West European culture became stronger. The importance of Bulgarian culture and science for Serbians in the Middle Ages was determined by several factors: the existence of the literary centres in the monasteries of Mount Athos, where Bulgarian, Serbian Wallachian and Moldavian writers worked together; the seizure and inheritance of Bulgarian cultural centres and monasteries by the Wallachian and Moldavian State, the transfer (at the end of 14th - 15th centuries) of Bulgarian scholars (as Gregory Tsamblak) and their active participation in the cultural life there, etc.

After the Ottoman conquest of Bulgaria, many valuable Bulgarian books were taken out of the country and many Bulgarian scholars, grammarians and clerics were sent into exile. This created a precondition for the establishment of Bulgarian language and Bulgarian culture in these principalities. The works of such eminent Bul-

¹ T. Cholova, *The Medieval science in Balkan countries*, "Etudes balkaniques", Sofia, 2000, 2, pp.112-126.

² П. Бойчева, *Към въпроса за участието на среднобългарската литература в църковно-политическия живот на Молдова през XV-XVI в* [To the Issue of the Middle Ages Bulgarian Literature's implication in Church and Political Life of Moldavia, 15th-16th Century], in *Българите в северното причерноморие* [Bulgarians in the Northern Coast of Black Sea], Т. I, Велико Търново, 1992, p. 82.

garian writers (as Gregory Tsamblak, etc. who took refuge in the Wallachian and Moldavian monasteries and towns), contributed to the establishment of Bulgarian culture there.³ The spread of the natural sciences in the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia was facilitated by the manuscripts and transcripts of some Greek and Bulgarian works, which included works or abstracts. These were mainly miscellanies brought out of the Bulgarian lands and used in the monasteries of Wallachia and Moldavia, though some of them were written in Bulgarian in these very monasteries. These miscellanies and some single works (e.g. *Physiologus*) were well received there and later contributed to the creation of stories and proverbs about animals in the Romanian literature (from 17th century onwards). Some works on natural sciences like *Interpretative Palea*, and certain miscellanies like the Lovech's *Miscellany*, written before 1331 and containing excerpts from the *Hexaemeron* of Severian of Cabala, etc., were taken initially to the monasteries of Wallachia and Moldavia and later were transferred to Mount Athos, Russia and West European countries.

Considering the fact that the Old Bulgarian language was an official language in these principalities (as the language of the church and literature until the 17th century), the Old Bulgarian letter numeration was used for practical calculations. The Bulgarian culture and technical knowledge also prevailed in the field of architecture, building, and military technology.

Before the establishment of the Hungarian political rule and Western Church influence in the majority of Transylvanian lands, the Bulgarian and Byzantine culture prevailed there also, in the different periods. After the Ottoman conquest, Bulgarian manuscripts containing information of natural sciences were housed in the Transylvanian monasteries too.⁴

The tendencies in the cultural policy of tsar Symeon during the "Golden Age" proved vital throughout the middle Ages in Bulgaria, as well as in the other countries belonging to this cultural circle: Serbia, Russia, Wallachia, Moldavia. The works of the following centuries (13th - 15th centuries) were influenced by the Preslav literary centre. The Symeon's *Miscellany*, the early Bulgarian compilation of 10th century (preserved in its earliest Russian copy of the 12th century, known as *Izbornik Svyatoslava*) led the philosophic and natural scientific thought. It was the first work which gave, through the translation of Theodore of Rhaithu's Treatise into Old Bulgarian, some formulations, explanations and terms proper of certain abstract philosophic concept and categories (according to Aristotel's *Organon*, *Metaphysic*). This Treatise gave the Bulgarian reader access to introductory material on Aristotelian philosophy and necessitated the creation of philosophical terminology, parts of which have survived in several Slavonic languages to the present day.

³ К. Куев, *Съдбата на българската ръкописна книга през вековете* [The fate of Bulgarian Manuscripts through the centuries], Sofia, 1986, p. 2; E. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare du XIV^e siècle et sa diffusion dans les pays Roumains*, Paris, 1974.

⁴ J. Jufu, *Manuscrisele slave din Transilvania* [Slavonian Manuscripts from Transilvania], „Romanoslavica”, VIII, 1963, p. 48.

The articles on natural sciences subjects in the *Miscellany* rather comply with its generally theological character, referring to excerpts of the treatise *On Human Nature* by Nemesisius of Emessa, the article on the name of the months, given by the different nations, ascribed to John of Damascus, etc.⁵

Many of the works created in the Preslav's literary school are seen primarily as a theological and literary, but none has studied yet their function as educational literature. *Miscellany of Symeon* (Svyatoslav of 1073) is one of the best examples of this type of educational literature, designed to form the higher clergy.⁶ The researchers have called it: "medieval encyclopaedia" because of its rich and multifaceted content, but few authors have paid attention to its obvious destination as a theological school anthology. Even the title leads us to this conclusion: "Sbora of mnoga otetsa, tolkovanie o nerazumniha slovesaha iniha kniga gotova otvyata" (Explanation, collected from [works of] many church fathers, interpretation of the ambiguous areas of the Gospel and the Apostles, and other books. In brief, it means: *in order to be learnt fast and to provide a quick answer*).

The content of *Miscellany* is even more revealing as it comes to its use as a teaching tool. The works included in *Miscellany* have various contents, but their main feature as an introduction to a given scientific field is obvious. This applies not only for the most voluminous essay in the miscellany *Questions and Answers* of St. Athanasius of Alexandria, but also for the work of Saint Basil the Great, especially the work of George Choïroboskos *Peri tropou*, the essay of John of Damascus for the twelve months and the one of Nemesisius of Emesa on anatomy and physiology of man, etc. It must be underlined that the content of the *Miscellany* does not reflect the state of the Byzantine literature in 9th-10th centuries, but is more characteristic for the patristic period. There is still no detailed analysis of its articles in terms of their purpose, but they were not selected randomly. For example, one of the works included in the *Miscellany* – the comments of Theodore of Raithu on the *Categories* of Aristotle – is essential for the study of philosophy. The Aristotle's *Categories* have been a necessary introduction to the study of philosophy throughout the middle ages. Even today, the main philosophical concepts are studied starting by this treatise. The fact that the newly created Bulgarian literary language was used to create such high philosophical concepts as "substance", "contents", "quantity", "quality", "time", "action", "space" etc., concepts that we still use today, is even more impressive. This is certain evidence that the *Miscellany* was translated as a textbook for higher education.

The other treatises included in the *Miscellany* can also be related to an introduction to the sciences of "quadrivium". The treatise of George Choïroboskos *Peri tropou* was released as a textbook in Byzantine universities and was used in teaching

⁵ Изборник Святослава 1073/факсимильное издание [The Svyatoslav "Miscellany" 1073/ facsimile edition], Москва, 1983, 121 об. 242/, 123 /245/, 153, 154, 250 об.- 251; P. Peychev, *Philosophical treatise in Simeon's Miscellany*, 1977.

⁶ Г. Михаила, *Списки сборника царя Симеона в библиотеке Румынской академии* [Copies of Tsar Simeon's collection in the Library of Romanian Academy], "Palaeobulgarica", 1987, 3, pp. 3-20.

grammar, and especially rhetoric. The treatise contains a definition of 27 poetic tropes and figures, which are translated with Bulgarian counterparts, some of which we still use today.

One of the highly popular works in the middle ages in Bulgaria was the so-called *Physiologus*. Most of the researchers believe that *Physiologus* belongs to the Alexandrian literature written in the 2nd – 3rd century.⁷ In some individual articles it describes the lifestyle, the leadership, and the appearance of animals – some existing, some not, characteristics of minerals and plants; each of these descriptions is accompanied by symbolic religious interpretations. The diverse and approachable language can be one of the reasons for the popularization of the book in the Middle Ages in all European countries. The Greek manuscript of *Physiologus* is relatively well studied as well as the translations and adaptations in other languages.⁸ To a certain point this relates to its Slavonic version.⁹

In fact, in the foundation of the Old Bulgarian language and Old Bulgarian translations there are various versions of the Greek *Physiologus*.¹⁰ For instance, the Russian version comes from the 15th century and according to the researches it had a Bulgarian prototype. This early Bulgarian translation was made by the first Greek version, which relate to other manuscripts.¹¹ However, A. Karneev excludes of his research a big part of the South Slavonic manuscripts, belonging – according to him – to Bestiaries.¹²

The South Slavonic manuscripts can be divided into two groups: 1. an old one, which includes three of the Russian versions but with a Bulgarian prototype, and 2. a derived group, to which the rest are related. The manuscripts from the first group were made by two separate Bulgarian translations from Greek, probably dated to about 10th - 11th century, while the manuscripts of the second group are later Bulgarian translations (14th – 15th century). The oldest preserved Slavonic manuscripts of *Physiologus* dates from the 15th century.

⁷ A. Карнеев, *Материалы и заметки по литературной истории Физиолога* [Materials and Notes on the Literary History of Physiologus], Санкт Петербург, 1890, p. 26-27; F. Sbordone, *Physiologus*, Mediolani-Napoli, 1936, p. XII.

⁸ B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra Spicilegium Solesmense*, T. III, 1855; F. Laucher, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, Strasbourg, 1889.

⁹ A. Карнеев, *op. cit.*, pp 161—193; Ст. Гечев, *Към въпроса за славянския физиолог* [To the question of Slavic Physiologus], София, 1938. p. I—XIII; S. Novaković, *Physiologus. Слово о вещех ходещихъ и летящихъ* [Speech about things walking and flying], Starine, XI, 1879, pp. 181-203; A. Стойкова, *Физиологът в южнославянските литературни* [Physiologus in South Slavic literature], София, 1994, pp. 28-29.

¹⁰ Sbordone, *op.cit.*, pp. XIII-XXIX; D. Kaimakis, *Physiologus et sa traduction manuscrite, "Cyrilomethodianum"*, Thessaloniki, 1981, 5, pp. 177-186; J.H. Declercq, *Remarques sur la tradition du Physiologus grec, "Byzantion"*, 1981, pp.148-158.

¹¹ A. Karneev, *op. cit.*, p. 147 ; Troitsko-Sergievata lavra, No. 729, part of the Interpretation pallets (pp. 155-182); pp. 149, XXXIV-XXXV.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 142; G. Polivka, *Zur Geschichte des Physiologus in den slavischen Literaturen, "Archiv für slavische Philologie"*, Tübingen, 1892, 3, p. 380.

In this type of South Slavonic manuscripts the symbolic-religious parts are significantly shortened and give a way to more information about animals and their moral-allegorical interpretations. More popular version of this adaptation in Bulgaria, Serbia, Wallachia and Moldavia in the 15th – 17th centuries corresponded with the *zeitgeist* and showed an increasing interest of educated people toward a positive knowledge and fiction. Since the 15th century, *Physiologus* was a constant component of most of the so-called miscellanies with a mixed content, typical for the Bulgarian literature of this period.

The *Physiologus* contained interesting description of animals, their nature and behaviour. The first version of *Physiologus* that was spread in the Orthodox countries, originated from an earlier Old Bulgarian translation (probably from the 10th century).¹³ The second South Slavonic translation of this book (14th century) was well received in Bulgarian, Serbian, Wallachian and Moldavian territories and served for a long time as a manual.¹⁴ Most of the preserved manuscripts date back in the 15th – 16th century, but one of the earlier documents can be found in the Cluj Napoca Museum, dating from the 14th – 15th centuries.

A detailed research of the popular medieval version of *Physiologus* in Romania was implemented by P. Olteanu. He analysed the preserved copies by proving that the translations of the story are of Old Bulgarian version as they are included in miscellanies with mixed stories on astrological, zoological, parenthetic, etc. topic. He follows also the popularization of various stories of *Physiologus* in the Romanian literature and folklore.¹⁵

The interest in the works on the natural sciences in the 12th - 14th centuries is manifested predominantly in the translations of Severian of Gabala's *Hexaemeron*s and George of Pisidia's *Proskinitaria*.¹⁶ *Hexaemeron*s take one of the main places among the stories with scientific contents in the medieval Bulgarian and other Slavonic literatures. The most significant production of this type without any doubt is *Hexaemeron* of John Exarch, whose significance is evident of its popularity in the Slavic countries and its multiple copies until the 19th century. The medieval Bulgarian natural science went outside the traditional frames in the commentaries on the *Creation* and formed a real encyclopaedia of medieval knowledge. Almost all known *Hexaemeron*s in Russia and Serbia were written or translated for the first time in Bulgaria, but the condition of the research still does not allow for some of them certain natural scientific conclusions to be made. In the medieval literature of Wallachia and Moldavia some excerpts of *Hexaemeron*s of Severian of Gabala and liturgical *Hexa-*

¹³ А. Стойкова, *op. cit.*, p. 45; П. Олтяну, *К истории „Физиолога” в славянских и румынских литературах* [On the History of the „Physiologus“ in Slavic and Romanian Literature], „Palaeobulgarica”, VIII, 1984, 2, pp. 38-58.

¹⁴ C. Giannelli, *Di alcune versioni e rielaborazioni Serbe delle "Solutiones breves quaestionum naturalium" attribuite a Michele Psello*, „Studi bizantini e neoellenici”, V, 1939, pp. 445-468;

¹⁵ П. Олтяну, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-58.

¹⁶ Н. Радошевић, *Шестоднев Георгия Писиде и његов словенски превод* [Hexaemeron of George of Pisidia and its Slavonic translation], Београд, 1979, p 99.

emerons were kept.¹⁷ *Hexaemeron* ("Six sermons for the Creation of the world ") of Severian of Emessa (Syria) became famous in Bulgaria as the work of John Exarch, and later was translated as an independent work of Gabala.¹⁸ The bishop of Gabala, Severian lived in Constantinople, in the 4th-5th century, when the conflict with the Patriarch of Constantinople, St. John Chrysostom,, resulted in the removal of the Patriarch from his position.¹⁹ Until the 18th – 19th century the stories of Severian of Gabala and especially his *Hexaemeron* were often believed to be written by St. John Chrysostom, more popular in the Middle Ages. Severian was a follower of the Antiochian Orthodox School and in some of his views the suited a lot of the later Nizibian fathers and apologists such as Teodor Mopsuetski and Kozma Indikoplevst.²⁰ The beliefs of Severian for a number of natural scientific issues especially the cosmographic were actually much more primitive than those of St. Basil the Great. *Hexaemeron* of the bishop of Gabala is devoted to theological questions, but some natural scientific knowledge is also included. It was translated into Bulgarian probably in the 14th century but only fragments are preserved.²¹ A full copy is kept dating back in the 15th century, made by a Bulgarian manuscript which had not reached to us. In a Serbian and a Russian version, many other copies of the Severian's *Hexaemeron* are kept until the 18th century.²² Fragments of *Hexaemeron* can also be seen in the Lovech's *Miscellany* – written before 1331, and in the *Miscellany* of priest Fillip, dated 1345.²³ Probably between the 10th and the 13th century, in Bulgaria these documents were translated from Greek or composed on the basis of Greek principals didactic miscellanies with sentences (*sententiae*) of ancient scholars and philosophers and of Christian writers who were used in education. These miscellanies are familiar by the multiple manuscripts and different editions of later periods under the name "Bee". The earliest preserved is the Slavonic manuscript of the 14th century.²⁴

¹⁷ Ц. Чолова, *Естественонаучните знания в средновековна България* [Natural Scientific Knowledge in Medieval Bulgaria], София, 1988, p. 22.

¹⁸ Severiani, *Hexaemeron*, *Patrologia Graeca*, coll. 429—516.

¹⁹ J. Zelliner, *Die Genesisanliien des Bischofs Severian van Gabala*. Münster, 1916, pp. 2-7; *Энциклопедический словарь* [Encyclopaedic Dictionary], XXIX. СПб., 1900, 297 p.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 39, J. Zelliner, *J. Studien zu Severian von Gabala*, Münster, W. 1926; Cosmas Indicopleustes. *Topographic Chretienne*. Introduction, texte critique, illustration, traduction et notes par W. Wolska-Conus. Bd. I - III (Sources Chretiennes, 141, 159, 197), Paris, 1968 – 1973; Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Severiani episcopi Gabalorum Hexaemeron*, *Patrologiae Graeca*, т. 88, col. 320-326.

²¹ А. Горский, К. Невоструев, *Описание славянских рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки* [Description of Slavic Manuscripts from the Moscow Synodal Library], Москва, 1855 – 1917, Т. II, 1, 1345, 38, p. 21.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 631.

²³ К. Кув, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²⁴ I. Martinov, *Les manuscrits slaves de la bibiothèque impériale de Paris*, Paris, 1858; В. М. Семенов, *Древне-русская Пчела на пергаменном списку XIV в.* [Old Russian Bee on a Parchment Copy from 14th century], Санкт Петербург, 1893; М. Н. Сперанский, *Переводные сборники изречений в славяно-русской письменности. Исследование и тексты* [Translated Miscellanies in the Slavic-Russian Literature. Research and texts],

The Slavonic versions of the very popular manuscript in Byzantium *Florilegium* are believed to be written by Maximus the Confessor, and St. Iohannes Damascenes. Since the 11th century it was spread in the monk Antonius compilation, under the name MeAshoa ("Bee"). The main Slavonic manuscripts and editions are researched as early as in the beginning of the last century, as the most detailed research is by the Russian scholar M. N. Speranski.²⁵ The most recent research is of A. Miltenova.²⁶ I mention these miscellanies even though their contents are dedicated to theological and social-ethical issues because some of them are in separate sayings related to the knowledge of nature. In various miscellanies with mixed contents versions of the stories with short questions and answers can be seen – the translation of "Bee", questions and answers on different topics – theological, natural scientific, etc. A miscellany with such content is kept in the library of the Romanian Academy of Science, the Museum of Brasov and Cluj Napoca.²⁷

The traditions of the Turnovo literary school were still maintained in the 15th - 16th centuries outside the conquered Bulgarian lands by the efforts of some eminent Bulgarian scholars. Constantine Costenetchki had greatly contributed to the diffusion of geographical and cosmographical knowledge during that period. The researchers produced evidence to the effect that one of the major works considered as a source of knowledge in cosmology in medieval Serbia, *Fragments of Medieval Cosmography and Geography* was composed by Constantine Costenechki, while the so-called *Bogishich's Miscellany* of the 16th century – containing one of the fullest transcripts of the work – was compiled or transcribed by the Bulgarian scholar Visarion of Debar.

The work of Constantine Costenetchki *Fragments of Medieval Cosmography and Geography* was based on Michael Psell's writings *De omnifaria doctrina* and *Solutiones breves quaestlonum naturalium* (the latter has reached us under the name of Symeon Seth). The Bulgarian scholar had also added some abstracts about Cosmography and Geography. The work was spread in the Balkan countries and it could be assumed as one of the most significant works in this field until the literature of the Modern Age emerged.²⁸ The Wallachian and Moldavian princes maintained direct contacts with the monasteries on Mount Athos and supported them with donations. Some Greek manuscripts about the natural sciences (like the work ascribed to Michael Psellos, under the name Symeon Seth, *Brief Summary on the Problems of Nature*), are encountered in many transcripts in the Wallachian and Moldovian monas-

ИОИДР, М., 1904, 265-230; В. Јагич, *Разум и философия* [Reason and philosophy], Споменик СКА, XIII, Београд, 1892; PG, T. XL. col. 1263-1270; Maximoi Abbatis: T. XCL, col. 721-1081; Antonios „Melissa”, T. 136, col. 765-1244.

²⁴ М. Н. Сперанский, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

²⁵ *Ibid.* Issues "Bee" dated 14th century of Archive Min. Inostr. del No. 370, 820, 265-230; Serbian copy dated 14th century (No.2 43, 25), pp. 330-346

²⁶ А. Милтенова, *Erotapokriseis. Съчинения от кратки въпроси и отговори в старобългарската литература* [Erotapokriseis. Stories of short questions and answers in Old Bulgarian Literature], София, 2004.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 565.

²⁸ C. Giannelli, *op.cit.*, p. 463.

teries.²⁹ Many parallels of *Fragments of Cosmography and Geography* of Constantine Costenetchki can be found in the Greek manuscripts, kept in the library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences in Bucharest. C. Giannelli informs us about them who found, besides the known three, one more manuscript with similar fragment. It is believed to be the story of Michael Psellos (everywhere in the Greek manuscripts in Bucharest, as well as in the Bulgarian ones this story is under the name of Symeon Seth) which was very popular as an educational book until the 19th century.³⁰

The development of culture, natural sciences and technical skills in Wallachia and Moldavia, as well as in the Transylvania was influenced directly by the culture of Byzantium. The popularization of the Bulgarian medieval manuscripts about the natural science in the Wallachia-Moldavian principalities lands after the 15th century is evident mainly by the kept copies of Bulgarian stories with natural science.³¹ The miscellanies with mixed contents containing apocrypha and stories of the “denied” literature in medieval Bulgaria were noted too soon.³² These miscellanies and some individual stories such as *Physiologus*, *Miscellany of Tsar Simeon*, stories and speeches of the Bulgarian scholar John Exarch were well accepted in the culture of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania until the 19th century. They have had significant impact on the creation of the stories and proverbs about animals in Romanian literature since the 17th century.³³ Some works with natural science contents transferred from Bulgaria initially were brought to the Monasteries of Wallachia and Moldavia and later were transported to Russia.³⁴

The relations between Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia in the 14th century were intense, and the dynastic marriages between Bulgarian rulers and the rulers of Wallachia and Moldavia contribute to the commercial and cultural exchange. The Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander (1331-1337) was the son-in-law of Ioan Basarab (1325-1340), the Wallachian warlord. Ana, the wife of Ivan Stratsimir, was the daughter of the Wallachian warlord Alexander Basarab (1330-1365). The commercial connections were revived, when Ivan Stratsimir allowed the Brasov traders free commerce in the Vidin Kingdom.³⁵ The contacts in the area of culture became also very tight. In the biography of Theodosius of Tarnovo on Patriarch Kalist, it is written that the fame of the Literary School in the Kilifarevo Monastery spread to the North of the Danube River and the students from Wallachia came to Theodosius of Tarno-

²⁹ E. Turdeanu, *La littérature bulgare du XIV^e siècle et sa diffusion dans les pays roumains*, Paris, 1947.

³⁰ C. Giannelli, *op. cit.*, p. 433 – cod. 614, XVII S., ff. 158 sgg (Litzica, 308), 624, VII S.; 734, XVIII S.; 757, XIX S.

³¹ J. Jufu, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³² А. Яцимирский, *Славянские и русские рукописи румынских библиотек* [Slavic and Russian manuscripts in Romanian libraries], Санкт Петербург, 1905, Т. LXIX, p. 79.

³³ П. Олтяну, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-58.

³⁴ К. Кувев, *op. cit.*, pp. 29, 36.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

vo.³⁶ Gregory Tsamblak wrote that students from the North and the South came to the School of Evtimiy, at the Patriarchal Monastery “Holy Trinity” in Tarnovo. Konstantin Kostnechki mentioned that Evtimiy had students of the Scythian areas, from the North of the Danube River. Patriarch Evtimiy of Tarnovo kept correspondence with the famous Moldavian Scholar of Bulgarian origin – Nicodim of Tismana. Along with his students³⁷, he founded the Neamt Monastery – one of the most popular monasteries in Moldavia – and later, he was sanctified.

Significant for popularizing culture and building monasteries in Moldavia is the policy of the Moldavian prince Alexander the Kind (1402-1431). He hosted many of the scholars who ran from the enslaved Bulgarian lands and gave them a chance to settle and develop their literature and church activity. The Monasteries Bistritsa and Bisericani were founded by monks who came from the South of the Danube. Probably, at the same time, in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania many valuable Bulgarian manuscripts were transferred. Some of them still wander and settle in Mount Athos or in different countries and cities in Europe. Such are the *Tetraevangelia* of Ivan Alexander of 1356, and the *Tomić Psalter* – both with numerous illustrations – as well as the *Lovech’s Miscellany* written before 1331, the *Miscellany* of Priest Fillip, dating 1345, the *Miscellany* of Ivan Alexander (Lavrentiev) of 1348, etc.³⁸

The *Lovech’s Miscellany*, written before 1331, is a medieval Bulgarian manuscript with a mixed content. It was written by the monk Pahomiy, during the period in which Ivan Alexander was despot in Lovech. The *Miscellany* contains works with theological and religious character, natural science stories – containing excerpts from the Severian’s *Hexaemeron* and fortune-teller books. Currently it is kept in the Library of the Academy of Science in Sankt Petersburg. Similar is the contents of the *Miscellany* of Priest Fillip, dating 1345. After Bulgaria fell under Ottoman rule, Gregory Tsamblak spent some time in the Lower-Danubian principality. Between 1401 and 1406 he was a presbyter of the Great church of Moldavia with capital Suceava, in the “Pantokratoros” monastery (Neamt). There he wrote the biography of Ioan Novi of Suceava. Nowadays, 294 manuscripts can be found in this monastery.³⁹

³⁶ В. Киселков, *Житието на Теодосий Търновски като исторически паметник* [The Life of Theodosius of Tarnovo as a Historic Monument], София, 1926 p. 17.

³⁷ К. Кувев, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁹ С. Николова, *Славянските ръкописи в Румъния* [Slavic Manuscripts in Romania], in *Старобългарска литература* [Old Bulgarian Literature], vol. 3, 1978, p. 109.

STATE AND CHURCH IN THE ORGANIZATION OF MOLDAVIAN COUNTRY UNTIL THE END OF 18TH CENTURY

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Rezumat: Biserica ortodoxă cu structurile sale teritoriale, Mitropolia și episcopiile, a jucat un rol deosebit în organizarea administrativă a statului medieval moldovenesc. Este cunoscută întreaga dispută legată de recunoașterea Mitropoliei Moldovei de către Patriarhia Ecumenică a Constantinopolului. De asemenea este deosebit de importantă situația Episcopiei de la Rădăuți, contemporană în mod evident cu întemeierea țării. S-a impus astfel și un model creștin în administrație, părăsit însă mai ales de la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea, când întreg statul se așează pe alte baze decât cele originare.

Abstract: In the administrative organization of medieval Moldavian state, the Orthodox Church and its territorial structures, Metropolitan and Episcopates, played an important role. It's known throughout the dispute over the recognition the Metropolitan Church of Moldavia by Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople. It is also very important situation of the Episcopate of Rădăuți, obviously contemporary with the founding of the country. Has established itself a Christian model of administration, but mainly left at the end of the sixteenth century when the entire state is placed on bases other than those originating.

Résumé: En l'organisation administrative de l'Etat moldave médiévale un rôle important a joué Eglise orthodoxe et ses structures territoriales, le métropolitain et les évêques. Est connu dans le différend sur la reconnaissance métropolitaine moldave par le Patriarcat œcuménique de Constantinople. Il est également très important la situation d'Épiscopat Rădăuți, évidemment contemporaine de la fondation du pays. S'est imposé comme un modèle chrétien de l'administration, mais surtout à gauche à la fin du XVIe siècle, lorsque l'Etat tout entier est placé sur des bases autres que celles d'origine.

Keywords: Medieval Moldavian state; church; administrative organization; Metropolitan Church of Moldavia.

In becoming a nation, according to its historical destiny, its state organisation always respects it and moulds according to its geographical dimensions, besides which those spiritual dimensions have always been more than a simple intensifier. The heritages are intensified in this flow by the valuation of new experiences. The

European medieval state has been characterized by its Germanic tradition, the heritage of Roman Antiquity valued by Christianity. There also have been set up two classical patterns: the Roman-German one, with a lot of influences of Gallo-Germanic tribes and the Byzantine one, with influences of Greek antiquity.

Organised, especially in Western side, in Orders and rigid Corporations, the medieval state appears yet as secluded and limited just only for modern type of man, the man of post-iconoclast revolutions, of pagan inspiration, triggered in the 18th century. In reality, as the historian Gheorghe Brătianu remarked: "people of those ages didn't have any political rights, but they were more equal to each other from economical point of view"¹. The analysis of sources shows that never until the end of 16th century man has never been more master of his work and of the outcomes of his work and has never been placed in a more complete freedom compared to those who were considered primarily in a Christian state as "near, close". Medieval freedom was primarily assessed in its Christian way, for which political rights didn't have any significance but only for the rank and place given by God for each individual in society.

Naturally, even from its first ways of organising, State needed administration as means of surviving, through the elementary needs as justice, defence and organizing of Church. Within European society also functioned a classical three-party pattern, identified by the bishop Adalbert de Laon as the three Orders². Administration imposed from the beginning, from central level of monarch, especially in Western medieval state, by heritage, increasing and adapting to classical patterns or formula to ensure its vitality in Eastern, Byzantine pattern. After the establishment of Western Christian Empire and together with imposing of universal monarch in person of Charlemagne, a process of Christian alienation triggered by diverting far from patristic tradition³, phenomenon which explains to a great extent also the separate evolution of state-church relations: from the dominant symphony within the states under the influence of Byzantine Empire to the conflict expressed so many times with violence in Western medieval states. Everywhere the medieval state didn't experience a separation of powers in modern way, enlightened, and this functioned through its communitarian and personalised structures. Because of this reason, its functions are not clearly shaped and they are many times very weak delimited. On that period there was prevailing the outlook of Christian monarchy in which, the chosen of God was also the master of all lands and their inhabitants. As a

¹ Gheorghe I. Brătianu, *Tradiția istorică despre întemeierea statelor românești* [Historical tradition about the foundation of Romanian medieval states], Bucharest, Eminescu Publishing House, 1980, pp. 123-124.

² Georges Duby, *Cele trei ordine sau imaginarul feudalismului* [The Three Orders or the imaginary of feudalism], Bucharest, Meridiane Printing House, 1998, p. 25; Jaques Le Goff, *Intellectualii în evul mediu* [Intellectuals in Middle Ages], Bucharest, Meridiane Publishing House, 1994, p. 22.

³ André Vauchez, *Spiritualitatea evului mediu occidental secolele VIII-XII* [The spirituality of the Western Middle Ages 8-12 centuries], București, Meridiane Publishing House, 1994, p. 9.

consequence, it was remarked the mechanism of medieval organization. Until the dawn of Modern times, hardly one could make differences, and for Romanian states, the analysis mainly juridical, haven't seized the peculiarities⁴.

The medieval state from Eastern Europe had particular structures, with a lot of hues and differences. In a Slavic sea, The Romanians assume and develop many state organizations from Byzantine source.⁵ These organizations are especially seen in organizing of the princely council and in the special report between state and church. More severe with individual and with itself, the Western state transformed old German structures into a classic Roman new coat.

The analysis of specificity of state evolution in Romanian States, the fact of Christianization early from beginning and the evolution from rural structures made Nicolae Iorga to set forth the theory of initial rural state; "(țeranii) the peasants were our boyars and as head of state there was (țeranul) the peasant, humble to God, who was sitting on the princely chair of country"⁶. The process summarized by N. Iorga in the syntagm of "primary rural" state has to be approached with certain reserves. The essential fact is that Romanian states grew up mostly in rural life. At foundation of medieval Romanian state's organization can't be put only a lack of organization and the coming back to old, primitive communal society⁷, after the withdrawal of Roman reign. In this respect, not only the maintaining of connections with Byzantine Empire for longer centuries but especially the Christian thought have been represented the real grounds for establishing the medieval state. Noticing the evolution of state "by spreading of Romanian people from mountains to field"⁸, we underline the local grounds of state organization for Romanian people, with later reflections on the whole evolution of institutions.

⁴ Ioan C. Filitti, *Despre vechea organizare administrativă a Principatelor Române* [About the old administrative organization of Romanian Principalities], in „Revista de drept public” [Journal of public law], 1934/1935, excerpt, p. 8.

⁵ Ion I. Nistor, *Temeiuri romano-bizantine ale începuturilor organizării noastre de stat* [Roman-Byzantines grounds of the first beginnings of our state organization] in „Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice” (The Annals of The Romanian Academy. Memoirs of the Section History), s. III, T. XXV, 1942-1943, pp. 843-883.

⁶ N. Iorga, *Rostul boierimii noastre* [The aim of our boyars], in *Istoria românilor în chipuri și icoane* [History of the Romanians in Faces and Icons], vol. II, 1905, Bucharest, Atelierele Socec Publishing House, p. 145

⁷ Henri h. Stahl, *Contribuții la studiul satelor devălmașe românești* [Contributions to the study of Romanian villages], vol. I, Bucharest, Romanin Academy Publishing House, 1958, passim; and P.P. Panaitescu, *Obștea țărănească* [The peasant community], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1964, pp. 11-14.

⁸ A.D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană* [History of Romanians from Dacia under Trajan Emperor], vol. II, 4th edition, Bucharest, Scientific and Enciclopedic Publishing House, 1986, p.160.

The Romanian medieval states have respected from the beginning the classic byzantine pattern, with the ruler being an autocrat but loving of his people. The fact that historical tradition preserves for most of medieval voivodes a bright image is given by the conception grasped by Dimitrie Cantemir according to which, beyond of some relative exaggerations, rulers “didn’t miss any prerogative of supreme power with which the greatest princes boast of. Out of God and their sword, these princes didn’t recognize no one more powerful within their country, they weren’t bound to any foreign prince, either as vassal or depending on faith”⁹. Autocrat but being no Asian tyrant, the Romanian prince were outlined by Nicolae Iorga as some who “have not a single offending word, of pride, of certainty in their means and their calling. They were defended also the humiliation imposed by Eastern Christianity but also by the nature of their people”¹⁰.

The influence of Byzantine orthodox conception in organizing the medieval state becomes, especially starting with 15th century, a permanence. This fact is showed by the diplomatic formula found in official documents and especially in those documents meant to monasteries and eparchies. From the particle “Io” denoting, in the tradition of Orthodox Eastern Empire, the divine origin of princely rule¹¹ and in the titles “cu inimă curată și luminată”, to the more complex addressing of archimandrite Nicolae from Voroneț monastery to voivode Vasile Lupu on 24th September 1634 by using Slavonic language as a sacred formula in a Romanian official document: ”Binecinstitorului și de Hristos iubitorului, celui încununat de Hristos Dumnezeu cu coroana împărătească, celui uns cu mirul bine mirositor, bucuria Ieleonului, celui curățat prin baia botezului și celui dăruit de Împăratul cerurilor cu cinstitul sceptru, prea milostivului marelui nostru domn, Io Vasile voievod”¹². Also the voivode Miron Barnovschi used, in a legacy to Dragomirna monastery in 1626, the formula: “Binecuvântat este preabunul Dumnezeu, care în a sa bunătate m-a ales din pântecele maicei mele și m-a dăruit cu domnia și voiozia țării” completed later

⁹ Dimitrie Cantemir, *Descrierea Moldovei* [Description of Moldavia], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1973, p. 123.

¹⁰ N. Iorga, *Scrisori de boieri, scrisori de domni* [Letters of boyars, letters of princes], 2nd edition, Vălenii de Munte, Datina Românească Publishing House, 1925, p. 155.

¹¹ Emil Vărtosu, *Titulatura domnilor și asocierea la domnie în Țara Românească și Moldova până în secolul al XVI-lea* [The titles of princes and association to reign in Wallachia and Moldavia until the 16th century], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1960, pp. 85-86; P.P. Panaitescu, *Io în titlul domnilor români* [Particle Io in the title of Romanian princes], in “Anuarul Institutului de Istorie și Arheologie A.D. Xenopol” (AIIA), (Yearbook of the Institute of History and Archeology A. D. Xenopol), XXIV, 2, Iași, 1987, p. 70; see latest and Daniel Flaut, *The relationships between the State and the Church in the Romanian Countries (14th -18th centuries)*, în „Revista Română de Studii Euroasiatice” (Romanian Journal of Eurasian Studies), an IV, Constanța, no. 1-2/2008, pp. 49-63.

¹² Documenta Romaniae Historica (DRH), A. Moldova, vol. XXII, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1974, pp. 293-294, nr. 262.

with “Pentru mila covârșitoarei sale bogății se cuvine deci pururi să mulțumim lui Dumnezeu căci ne-a deschis ușa milostivirii sale și lumina înțelepciunii și am văzut că nici o slavă nu stă pe pământ neclintită și cu moartea neîmpărțită, ci ca floarea se veștejește și ca umbra trece și se strică tot omul”.¹³ By all these facts the institution of state and reign takes shape according to Christian ideology and Orthodox Church, as centre of spreading out power and administration within the state.

A lot of information regarding the attitude and position of voivode within the frame of state, especially until 17th century, come mainly from monastic field, that one which played the intellectual role in society. For this reason, many of these information can be accused of subjectivism; yet, it is undeniable that from the medieval state's point of view, its relation with Christianity, of Eastern-orthodox shade for Romanian countries, the political synthesis achieved primarily in Byzantine Empire continued particularly through Romanian voivodes, „Byzantium after Byzantium” syntagm gaining clearly more than a cultural reference¹⁴ and accompanied by numerous specific features of Romanian evolution.

As central institutions, Reign and Church have concentrated all positive energies of state, especially after 1453, when being connected with Ecumenical Patriarchy of Constantinople by canonical and civil right¹⁵, the Romanian Metropolitan Churches would become the gates of a real cultural imperialism. If certain foreign influences have partly determined a separate evolution of medieval Romanian states¹⁶, particularities have reflected upon numerous high dignities and institutions, in shapes of law and styles of Slavic language and first of all in the military system of citadels and of Moldavian counties, depending on which the administration should have been regarded as a body where foreign specificity and influence were more or less felt. It is here to recall the observation of Nicolae Iorga¹⁷ according to whom “in organization and administration one can feel the starting point from the old kingdom”, where the system of princely courts and crossing the country for trials would be “a Hungarian habit”, which remains valid in part if one adds for “the traveller” prince the very well-known Christian pattern of Jesus Christ, as Emperor of World also a

¹³ DRH, A. Moldova, vol. XIX, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1969, p. 43-46, nr. 32.

¹⁴ Nicolae Iorga, *Bizanț după Bizanț* [Byzantium after Byzantium], Bucharest, Romanian Encyclopedic Publishing House, 1972, passim.

¹⁵ Valentin Al. Georgescu, *Bizanțul și instituțiile românești, până la mijlocul secolului al XVIII-lea* [Byzantium and Romanian medieval institutions until the midst of 18th century], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, p. 20

¹⁶ P.P. Panaitescu, *De ce au fost Țara Românească și Moldova țări separate* [Why Wallachia and Moldavia have been separate countries], în vol. *Interpretări românești* [Some Romanian facts], Bucharest, Universul Publishing House, 1947, pp. 139-140.

¹⁷ N. Iorga, *Istoria Românilor* [Romanians History], vol. III, *Ctitorii* [Founders], Bucharest, 1937, p. 222

pilgrim. Humble and anonymous traveller to spread God's righteousness.

The medieval state had in Church, everywhere in Christian world, the ground for building and organizing. In a Byzantine tradition, state was at the same time an argument for organizational construction of church. Medieval Romanian states, Wallachia as well as Moldavia, have initiated moves for organizing and recognition of some domestic Metropolitan churches at short while after the political raise of their voivodes. Clearer for Wallachia after the recognition of Iachint of Vicina as Metropolitan in 1359 the institutional church bodies in Moldavia evolved in specific conditions, conditions that gave the nuances of state organization.

Almost all princes' actions are religiously motivated on belief that "the one who does useful deeds and welcomed by God, not only he gets praise and magnificence in this earthly life but after death his name remains immortal"¹⁸. It was recognized that the ruler was also a direct representative of divinity and that his actions should carry its blessing if, of course, the ruler would carry with honour the gifts received during the religious ceremonial of investment. In this direction there were motivated also all the social reforms initiated by Constantin Mavrocordat¹⁹, after numerous metropolitans have expressed so many times their protest against fiscal abuses of certain rulers. In this respect, Church, by its structure and organization, has largely influenced the organization of State²⁰.

The foundation of Church structures in Moldavia is done in similar and parallel situations to State structures. According to Eastern tradition, every nation foundation needed also an ecclesiastic one. For these reasons, all moves for self-organizing old Moldavian Church are simultaneous²¹ with moments of affirming State's independence and authority, by involving ecclesiastic Patriarchy, regarded as a true "Balkan stage"²² of Moldavian history. After a long conflict with Constantinople Patriarchy and in close connection with the stages of foundation of Moldavian

¹⁸ N. Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria românilor* [Studies and documents concerning the Romanians History], vol. XXI, Bucharest, 1912, pp. 150-151.

¹⁹ Gh. I. Brătianu, *Două veacuri de la reforma lui Constantin Mavrocordat* [Two centuries since Constantin Mavrocordat's Reform], în "Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice", (The Annals of The Romanian Academy. Memoirs of the Section History), s. III, tom. XXIX, 1947, p. 455.

²⁰ Petru Râșcanu, *Lefile și veniturile boierilor moldoveni în 1776* [Wages and incomes of Moldavian boyars in 1776], Teză de licență [Thesis of bachelor], Iași, 1887, p. LXXX.

²¹ Șerban Papacostea, *Întemeierea Mitropoliei Moldovei. Implicații centrale și est-europene* [The Foundation of The Metropolitan Church of Moldavia. Central and East-European implications], în vol. *Românii în istoria universală* [Romanians in Universal History], vol. III, Iași, 1988, p. 526.

²² Răzvan Theodorescu, *Implicații balcanice ale începuturilor Mitropoliei Moldovei. O ipoteză* [Balkanian implications of beginnings of Moldavian Metropolitan Church. A hypothesis], în vol. *Românii în istoria universală* [Romanians in Universal History], vol. III, Iași, 1988, p. 563.

medieval state²³, the establishment of Moldavian Metropolitan Church is directly connected with defining of internal State structures. This fact is obvious especially when the recognition of the organizing status of Moldavian Church stands for the origin of tradition about the awarding by Emperor Ioan VII Palaiologos to voivode Alexandru cel Bun of the signs of Byzantine autocrator and of law codes.²⁴

The Stoudious Agreement, granting the secular rights of Byzantine Emperor²⁵, created, in the middle of 14th century, the favourable context for Moldavian voivode Petru Mușat's initiative, both for the edification of Metropolitan institution and also as a real manifestation of independence in the domain of relations with Polish Kingdom²⁶. The same circumstances created the legend according to which Iuga voivode placed Moldavian Church dependent on the Patriarchy of Ohride and especially they "au descălecat orașe, pren țară, tot pe la locuri bune și le-au ales sate și le-au făcut ocoale prin pregiur și au început a dărui ocine pren țară la voinicii ce făceau vitejii la oști"²⁷. It was natural in this context that an autocrat ruler, who contributed to the edification of Moldavian Metropolitan Church, to be also the organizer of State. And if ruler Petru I Mușatinul is a founder who "only the naturally death made the accomplishment of his work not to belong to him"²⁸, Alexandru the Good imposed himself as a real" Byzantine autocrat"²⁹. As "the only master" and as a judge, the Moldavian ruler will apply in many cases his credentials in canonical law (establishment of Metropolitan Churches, bishops and monasteries; the appointment and revocation of hierarchs; regulation of judging competences and regulation of foreign cults)³⁰, being partially similar to a Byzantine Emperor. By virtue of these

²³ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *La începutul relațiilor moldo-bizantine. Contextul întemeierii Mitropoliei Moldovei* [At the beginning of Moldavian-Byzantine relations. The context of foundation of Moldavian Metropolitan Church], în vol. *Românii în istoria universală* [Romanians in Universal History], vol. III-1, Iași, 1988, p. 877.

²⁴ Alexandru Elian, *Moldova și Bizanțul în secolul XV* [Moldavia and Byzantine Empire during 15th century], in *Cultura moldovenească în vremea lui Ștefan cel Mare* [Moldavian culture during the reign of Stephen the Great], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1964, pp. 119-143.

²⁵ Ștefan S. Gorovei, *op. cit.*, p. 861.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 876. See also Ștefan S. Gorovei, *Poziția internațională a Moldovei în a doua jumătate a sec. XIV* [The International position of Moldavian state in the second half of 14th century], în AIIA, XVII, Iași, 1980, pp. 215-216.

²⁷ Grigore Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei* [The Chronicle of Moldavian State], 2nd edition, Bucharest, State for Art and Literature Publishing House, 1958, p.75.

²⁸ Leon Șimanschi, Georgeta Ignat, *Constituirea cancelariei statului feudal moldovenesc* [The Formation of Moldavian feudal State Chancellery], part I, în AIIA, XIX, Iași, 1972, p. 124.

²⁹ N. Grigoraș, *Țara Românească a Moldovei până la Ștefan cel Mare* [Romanian country of Moldavia until Stephen the Great], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1978, p. 119 and Constantin Cihodaru, *Alexandru cel Bun (23 aprilie 1399- 1 ianuarie 1432)*, [Alexander the Good (23 April 1399 – 1 January 1432)], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 1984, p. 151.

³⁰ N. Ceterchi et al., *Istoria dreptului românesc* [History of Romanian Law], vol. I, Bucharest,

connections, we understand the involvement of Church, as institution and ideology, in the organization of Moldavian state, as being extremely important. The fact that beneficiaries of some special privileges of eparchy are important monasteries as Bistrița³¹ or Putna³², besides mentioning of some privileged situation of Episcopate of Rădăuți³³ in sequence of one main position on Moldavian Church's hierarchy, shows how, even from the beginning, Church organization depended on and conjugated with administration.

The establishment of episcopates in Moldavia, after the foundation of Metropolitan Church, is ascribed by the chronicle tradition to the initiative of voivode Alexander the Good³⁴, and the Episcopate of Rădăuți is put in direct connection with the establishment of the country³⁵, could be considered by the status of the first necropolis of Moldavian voivodes and by its special configuration³⁶ as the first establishment of Metropolitan Church. We had to underline the fact that for the Episcopate of Roman, "Metropolitan of Lower Country", with priority among several churches from Suceava Metropolitan, the foundation was also connected to the oldness and importance³⁷ of the second trade fair of the country at the beginning of 15th century, placing it in the period of years 1408-1413³⁸, after chronicles being

Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, p. 256.

³¹ DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1975, pp. 424-425, nr. VI. Although false, the document can cover the reality that eparchies were divided on virtue of some traditions, respecting also the administrative structures.

³² DRH, A. Moldova, vol. III, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, pp. 140-143, nr. 74.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp.135-139, nr. 73

³⁴ Grigore Ureche, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

³⁵ Dimitrie Dan, *Cronica Episcopiei de Rădăuți* [Chronicle of Episcopate of Rădăuți], Viena, 1912, pp. 25-26. Here it is released for the first time the hypothesis that, being situated near the village Volovăț „one of the first residence of reign”, in Rădăuți resided the first Metropolitan of the country.

³⁶ It is about the presence of some church porch within the shrine, most likely of later time, because the authors of archeological resarches from Rădăuți consider that the church from Rădăuți had only a function of chapel of some feudal residence during the whole 14th century (Dimitrie Dan, *Cronica Episcopiei de Rădăuți* [Chronicle of Episcopate of Rădăuți], Afterword and notes by Diac. Vasile M. Demciuc, Harieta Sabol), Bucharest, Basilica Publishing House, 2009, p. 37; Lia and Adrian Bătrâna, *Contribuția cercetărilor arheologice la cunoașterea arhitecturii ecleziale din Moldova în secolele XIV-XV*, [Archeological research contributions to the knowledge of ecclesial architecture of Moldavia during 14th-15th centuries] in „Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche și Arheologie” [Studies and Researches of Ancient History and Archeology], tom 45, Bucharest, nr. 2, 1994, p. 146.

³⁷ Scarlat Porcescu, *Episcopia Romanului, întemeiere și organizare* [The Episcopate of Roman. Foundation and organization], Bucharest, 1941, p. 49.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

confirmed by other internal documents³⁹.

The involvement of reign in the organization of the Church had also some important effects upon juridical and administrative organization of the state. With a more flexible structure than of the county, monastic attendances will be one main means in solving many legal conflicts and in applying the rule of law⁴⁰.

Interesting suggestions are given also by the fact that since its establishment, the Third Episcopate, that from Huși, had the eparchy situated in its main part on the Eastern side of Prut river. Compared to the configuration of counties from that area, this fact may launch assumptions concerning the stages of establishing administration of medieval Moldavia and especially in connection with the Church's involvement in administration in the context where Church and Reign took over and developed numerous local structures with all spiritual, social and economic consequences which have been showed later.

Christian model was applied also in the concrete organization of administration through the princely council and through its functions. The first council functions from Moldavia are mentioned on the occasion of the fair, originally Customs weigh's stabilization from Siret⁴¹, and then in a unique act from 26th September 1387⁴², in which, as commanders of citadels, granting official documents not only by their effective power, but by taking over a Polish pattern⁴³. The Polish pattern, coming from a catholic world, included noble relations very similar to the classic feudal pattern and in order to fully enter this system they had to comply with the images of certain relationships between ruler and vassals, relations functional in the world where the Moldavian ruler obey through an established ceremonial. Beyond this, we are convinced that the ruler's pattern accompanied by councillors took a certain part of the pattern where God Savior was followed by apprentices, very present in all the rituals of the Eastern Church,

³⁹ DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1975, p. 33, nr. 23 and then pp. 49-50, nr. 35. In other documents, also the Episcopate of Rădăuți is named Metropolitan. See DRH, A. Moldova, vol II, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1976, pp. 334-336, nr. 220 (the document from 30th of August 1749 exemption of Rădăuți and villages from Coțmani).

⁴⁰ Alexandru I. Gonța, *Mitropolia și episcopiile ortodoxe românești în secolul al XV-lea* [Metropolitan and Romanian Orthodox Episcopates during XVth century], în „Mitropolia Moldovei și Sucevei” [Metropolitan of Moldavia and Suceava] XXXIV, Iași, 1958, nr. 1-2, pp. 21-25.

⁴¹ DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1975 pp. 1-2, nr. 2.

⁴² Mihai Costăchescu, *Documente moldovenesti înainte de Ștefan cel Mare* [Moldavians documents before Stephen the Great] vol. II, Iași, 1932, p. 607

⁴³ Grigore Ureche, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-131.

precisely in a period during which appeals for recognition of the Organization of the Orthodox Church in Moldova were in full progress.

In such conditions, it is clear that the Moldavian medieval State had even from its beginning a system of organization in which the citadels complex played a special part in the evolution from initial nucleus, located only on Moldova Valley, up to the maximum formula, “from Plonini up to the Sea” written on 30th March 1392⁴⁴, which shaped the administrative structures, along with old organization patterns and with the system of ruler’s courtyards. The functions of fortresses’ commanders in administrating their domains, clearly suggested especially by documents issued by rulers’ chancellors, directly allowed us to deduct the special role of “pârcalab” (fortress’ commander) and “vornic” (court’s commander) in the first administrative organizations⁴⁵ up to the middle of 16th century, along with decaying of Moldavian fortresses system⁴⁶. Starting with mentioning of some boyars in the reign’s council only by the name of place where they resided or engaged in activities⁴⁷, “pârcalabul” and “vornicul” held even from the beginning the main role in State administration, whose units, by their names, showed the dependence of one geographical centre and the complex process of medieval state foundation⁴⁸. “Held” by “pârcalab” or “vornic”, the domains around a fortress or a reign’s courtyard appear this way as special bodies⁴⁹. The numerous exemptions and privileges granted especially to monasteries and to Orthodox eparchies and ranking some churches from the villages are ordered according to the administrative organization⁵⁰.

The special governors from counties, with the special responsibilities and very

⁴⁴ DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, p. 3, nr. 2.

⁴⁵ D. Nechita, *Pârcălăbia în Moldova* [Moldavian’s fortress command], în „Arhiva”, XXXII, 1925, nr. 2, p. 93.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, nr. 3-4, pp. 252-253.

⁴⁷ In the first formula of the princely extended tip included in the document issued by the Chancellery of the voivode Alexander the Good at 7 January 1403 to Fortress from Suceava, its members are identified by the name of joined mainly to (Hârlău, Suceava, Neamț, Khotyn, Volhoveț, Vorona and Sinăuți), and with the Office of “vornic” DRH, A. Moldova, vol. I, pp. 24-25, nr. 17.

⁴⁸ V. Lungu, *Ținuturile Moldovei până la 1711 și administrarea lor* [Moldavian Districts up to 1711 and their management], în „Cercetări istorice” [Historical research], Iași, XVII, 1943, pp. 212-213.

⁴⁹ Dan Lăzărescu, Nicolae. Stoicescu, *Ținut* [District], în vol. *Instituții feudale din Țările Române. Dicționar* [The feudal institutions of the Romanians countries. Dictionary], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1988, p. 481

⁵⁰ See villages from Suceava District donated to the Episcopate of Rădăuți and Putna Monastery (15 March 1490, 44 churches in Suceava District and 6 in Chernivtsi, hardening of holding a donation of Alexander the Good) DRH, A. Moldova, vol. III, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1980, pp. 135-139, nr. 72, and those for monastery of Putna (from March 15, 1490, 14 churches in Suceava and Chernivtsi Districts), *Ibid.*, pp. 140 - 143, nr. 73.

often temporary ones⁵¹, representing in particular of a fluid fiscal system will keep also a very vulnerable and open to abuses system, manifested towards the end of 16th century. Is obviously a period of output from Christian history and placing on the ground of mainly insecure and unstable measures. Beginning with complex military, juridical and economical functions, governors of land have particularly fiscal roles⁵², with many changes and shades in the specializing institutions. The latter brought also changes to the territorial structures of some counties and searching of new formulas, with particularizing the “vătafi” (heads of districts) institution, of county captain or captain of courtiers and continuing with administrative reorganizations since the middle of 17th century⁵³. Analysis of the sources allows us to see that the reasons for most changes of the administrative system are multiple: taxation and abuses that led to numerous disorders, foreign influences and especially the Ottoman Empire pressures that removed the administration of Moldavia from its tradition. Transformation of such structures by abuses and interests, in a large measure just because they were compliant to the inner soul of state, through their long erosion, had been one of the main causes of reform attempts manifested in the 18th century. As a reflex of a new world and with ideological or social determinations⁵⁴, Constantin Mavrocordat’s administrative reform “turns out to be previous to the settlements of modern Romania”⁵⁵. All efforts for ordering a system turned defective are made on other ground bases than those originating. Transformations exceed the initial meaning of history and very often they even haven’t reached the reformers’ intentions affecting most of the times only the shape and not the content of a deeply corrupt administration⁵⁶, facing a deep traditional society and a fundamentally spiritual one.

The Byzantine State pattern where symphony of State and Church was presented as a determinant factor was picked up in the organization of Moldavian

⁵¹ Aurel V. Sava, *Boierii mari ai Moldovei, dregători de ținuturi* [Great boyars of Moldavia, governors of districts] în „Revista de drept public” [Journal of public law] XVII, nr. 3-4, 1942, pp. 466-492

⁵² D. Ciurea, *Organizarea administrativă a statului feudal Moldova, secolele XIV-XVIII*, [Administrative organization of the feudal state of Moldova, 14th-18th centuries], in AIIA, Iași, II, 1965, p. 153.

⁵³ Dan Lăzărescu, N. Stoicescu, *loc. cit.*

⁵⁴ N. Grigoraș, *Reformele cu caracter administrativ din Moldova lui Constantin Mavrocordat*, [The administrative reforms from Moldavia of Constantin Mavrocordat], in „Cercetări Istorice” [Historical Research], Iași, VII, 1976, p. 160.

⁵⁵ Gh. I. Brătianu, *Două veacuri de la reforma lui Constantin Mavrocordat* [Two centuries from Constantin Mavrocordat’s Reform], p. 426 and pp. 441-443.

⁵⁶ Nicolae Stoicescu, *Sfatul domnesc și marii dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova (sec. XIV-XVII)* [The hospodar’s council and the great dignitaries of the Wallachia and Moldova (14-18 centuries)], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1968, p. 132. „They (the Romanian boyards n. ns.) there were against Greeks or robbery to indulge them and rulers which surrounded, but against the system witch remove them of the beneficiaries”.

State since the beginning of organizing it. One can see the influences of the Church from the functioning of law system to imposing an administrative pattern. Along with the change of balance of international power and permanently influenced by the distortion of spiritual patterns, the relationship between State and Church is substantially modified since the end of 16th century. Besides certifying some conflicts between rulers and hierarchs, the deep structures of State are affected, especially the way in which the governors report the functions they bear. Although it continues to be mentioned, the latter's "faith" loses more and more in content. Medieval Moldavian State begins to lose originating bases.

QUELQUES CONSIDERATIONS SUR LES ELITES ET L'IDEE DE NATION EN AUSTRO-HONGRIE

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE ELITES AND THE IDEA OF NATION IN AUSTRO-HUNGARY

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Rezumat: *Națiunile și naționalismele din Austro-Ungaria sunt organic legate de elite, unele de factură conservatoare, altele progresiste. Ideea națională în spațiul habsburgic a venit în contradicție cu viziunea supranațională și cu un anume gen de federalism. Finalmente, la sfârșitul Primului Război Mondial, națiunile, naționalitățile din imperiul bicefal au decis disoluția acestui corp politic eterogen și uneori anacronic.*

Abstract: *The various national ideologies from Austria-Hungary are linked between each others, having diverse natures (conservative, liberal and progressive). At the end of the First World War, the nations from Austro-Hungarian Empire decided to create their own states or to unify with other national states.*

Résumé: *Les nations et les nationalismes de l'Austro-Hongrie sont organiquement liés des élites, unes de facture conservatrice, autres progressistes. L'idée nationale dans l'espace habsbourgeois entra en contradiction avec la vision supranationale et avec un certain genre de fédéralisme. Finalement, à la fin de la première guerre mondiale, les nations, les nationalités de l'empire bicéphale décidèrent la dissolution de ce corps politique hétérogène et parfois anachronique.*

Keywords: *Cisleithania, Transleithania, elite, nation, nobility, nationalism, Austro-Hungarian Empire, Dual Empire, Enlightenment.*

Du point de vue étymologique, on définit la notion d'élite comme: “la partie la plus distinguée, la plus spéciale d'une nation, capable à influencer, à mobiliser et à entraîner les masses dans l'activité générale, de création matérielle et spirituelle, d'émancipation sur le chemin du progrès”¹. L'abord d'un terme semblable avec une

¹ Mihai Iacobescu, *Elita românilor bucovineni între anii 1862-1918* [L'élite des Roumains bucoviniens entre les années 1862-1918], dans le volume *Bucovina 1861-1918: Aspecte edificatoare pentru o Europă unită?* [La Bucovine 1861-1918: Aspects édificateurs pour une Europe unie?], Suceava, Editura Universității, 2002, p. 177.

sphère si étendue d'interdépendances n'est pas justement facile, parce qu'elle pendule entre des plans multiples (social, politique, économique, culturel, idéologique etc.) et entre des époques historiques. Les élites dépassent l'histoire, persistent ou se métamorphosent, évoluent et s'adaptent en permanence. Elles se développent tant à l'intérieur des nations, ainsi que dans un cadre supranational, étant les organes supérieurs qui contrôlent et donnent les directions d'évolution du corps social.

Les modèles et les typologies qui encadrent l'idée d'élite sont organiquement liés du continent européen. Les élites de l'Europe moderne représentent la résultante de l'évolution des élites médiévales, encadrées dans les premiers deux états (*oratores* et *bellatores* ou *militēs*²), auxquelles s'ajoutent "les descendants vigoureux" du troisième état, de l'espace urbain.

L'équilibre instable, manifesté par l'oscillation entre cohabitation et conflit, évolution et révolution, détermina l'apparition en Europe, et pas autre part, des principaux courants et idéologies politiques, qui mirent en branle le monde: conservatisme, libéralisme, socialisme etc. Chacune de ces idéologies ont imprimé à la société moderne une certaine dynamique et intensité d'évolution, étant en même temps un liant, plus puissant ou plus faible, plus uniforme ou plus hétérogène, entre l'Etat et la nation.

Les révolutions bourgeoises de l'espace de l'Europe occidentale, suivies par les consolidations identitaires du continent le XIX-ème siècle, essayèrent à statuer les nouveaux modèles de rapports entre l'Etat et la nation. Les grandes puissances européennes les assumèrent, les adaptant en fonction de leurs propres intérêts, de leur propre spécifique ou des conjonctures politico-diplomatiques à un moment donné. Les modèles originaux furent transformés à l'appui des élites, devenant des variantes vouées à appuyer l'Etat ou à faire la liaison entre celui-ci et les masses.

Les monarchies absolutistes comme l'Empire Tsariste ou l'Empire Habsbourgeois se sont créés leur propre variante des Lumières, adoptant le chemin des réformes dans les limites du despotisme éclairé.

La forme spécifique de celui-ci dans la Monarchie habsbourgeoise fut représentée par le *joséphisme*, qui se proposa de réformer rationnellement et graduellement la société, cultivant l'étatisme et le centralisme politique, qui devait donner cohésion à un empire³ si hétérogène et émietté.

S'inspirant des lumières allemandes (*Aufklärung*), la politique de l'impératrice Marie Thérèse, mise en pratique par le chancelier Kaunitz⁴, précéda avec deux

² Serge Bernstein, Pierre Milza, *Istoria Europei* [L'histoire de l'Europe], (vol. II), Iași, Institutul European, 1998, pp. 108-113.

³ Mihai-Ștefan Ceaușu, *Bucovina Habsburgică de la anexare la Congresul de la Viena. Iosefinism și postiosefinism (1774-1815)* [La Bucovine Habsbourgeoise de l'annexion au Congrès de Vienne. Joséphisme et post joséphisme (1774-1815)], Iași, Fundația academică „A. D. Xenopol”, 1998, p. 19.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

décennies le *joséphisme*. Le corégent Joseph II cristallisa sa conception réformatrice, appuyant les mesures prises les dernières années de règne de sa mère, en plan économique, juridique ou éducationnel⁵.

Joseph II continua et intensifia les réformes en ces domaines-ci, mais malgré les résultats inégaux, sa politique eut des conséquences positives sur des nations considérées comme “pas nobles”⁶, comme les Roumains, aussi. Les élites intellectuelles purent s’affirmer de cette manière et elles contribuèrent au développement des “mouvements nationaux propres”⁷, qui, le long de la première moitié du XIX-ème siècle, se sont coagulés, formant des vagues révolutionnaires successives, qui ébranlèrent les monarchies européennes, inclusivement celle habsbourgeoise.

La maison d’Autriche fut obligée à osciller, après les événements de 1848-1849, entre deux tendances: centraliste et fédéraliste⁸. Comme il était naturel, les élites et les nationalités de l’empire se rallièrent à ces conceptions de gouvernement.

L’intégration organique des termes comme: élite, nation, nationalisme, mouvement national dans le contexte politique, social, économique de l’Empire Habsbourgeois de la seconde moitié du XIX-ème siècle n’est pas une démarche facile. On ne se propose pas à réaliser un abord exhaustive de celle-ci, mais la ponctuation des éléments définitoires processuels et conceptuels est absolument nécessaire pour observer les lignes majeures d’évolution des élites et des nationalités du cadre de la monarchie habsbourgeoise.

La définition de la nation et du nationalisme doit être rapportée au plan sociologique, mais aussi au plan politique. Dans la théorie sociologique, la nation est définie comme une “superposition des systèmes culturels, économiques et politiques dans le cadre du même espace écologique”⁹. Dans la théorie politique, la nation représente “la collectivité existante dans un certain territoire déterminée, soumise à une administration unitaire, contrôlée par l’appareil d’Etat interne”¹⁰ et des autres Etats. Biensûr, on ne peut pas absolutiser une telle définition, elle étant valable surtout dans le cas de l’existence de l’Etat national.

Les efforts des nationalités soumises à la monarchie habsbourgeoise de se créer ou de s’intégrer dans un Etat nation se prouvèrent être uns des principaux éléments de dissolution de l’empire dualiste.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22, 23.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ Mihai Iacobescu, *op. cit.*, p.180.

⁹ Jean Leca, *Despre ce vorbim? Națiune, națiune-stat, naționalitate, naționalism, cetățenie, minorități, comunism, consociere, suspranaționalitate* [De quoi parle-t-on? Nation, nation – Etat, nationalité, nationalisme, citoyenneté, minorités, communalisme, consociation, supranationalité], dans le volume *Națiuni și naționalisme [Nations et nationalismes]*, traduction par Brândușa Prelipceanu, București, Editura Corint, 2002, p. 14.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

“Le catalyseur idéologique”¹¹ des nationalismes¹² se base sur une série de “représentations et identités politiques”¹³ spécifiques à l’Autriche habsbourgeoise, sur les liaisons et les interactions entre les élites et les masses, mais aussi sur le droit des peuples à autodétermination¹⁴.

Mais entre nation et nationalisme il y a une série de différences, déterminées surtout par la précarité quantitative des critères de définition des deux termes. Quoique les formes du nationalisme aient leur origine dans la nation, on ne possède pas un critère singulier de définition de celui-ci¹⁵. Le nationalisme est plus facilement à définir, malgré sa diversité politique, ayant des traits plus clairs d’identification que la nation¹⁶.

Les mouvements nationaux constituèrent un élément fondamental dans le développement du nationalisme. Dans leurs étapes d’évolution, ceux-ci bénéficient d’un certain apport de la part des élites et des masses, le degré de collaboration entre elles imposant l’intensité de la lutte nationale politique.

L’historien anglais A. J. P. Taylor considère que dans l’Empire Habsbourgeois ont existé trois phases principales des mouvements nationaux:

1. *La phase des mouvements nationaux précoces* (la première moitié du XIX-ème siècle)

Les élites intellectuelles (poètes, historiens, hommes de culture etc.) eurent un rôle définitoire dans cette étape, elles imprimèrent à la période un caractère romantique. On mit de cette manière les fondements idéologiques de la conscience nationale.

2. *La phase des mouvements nationaux de masse* (entre les événements révolutionnaires de 1848-1849 et la seconde moitié du XIX-ème siècle).

Les leaders nationaux commencent à prendre en considération le rôle des masses populaires, mais la lutte devient une pour le pouvoir et moins pour les principes académiques et intellectuels.

¹¹ Gil Delannoi, *Naționalismul și cataliza ideologică* [Le nationalisme et le catalyseur idéologique], dans le volume *Națiuni și naționalisme* [Nations et nationalismes], traduction par Brândușa Prelipceanu, București, Editura Corint, 2002, p. 35.

¹² “Le nationalisme se base sur trois assertions: 1. la nation a un spécifique explicite; 2. les intérêts et les valeurs de la nation prévalent sur tous les autres intérêts et valeurs; 3. la nation doit être plus indépendante que possible, ce qui impose la reconnaissance de sa souveraineté politique – Jean Leca, *op. cit.*, p. 16. En ce qui concerne la définition de la nation et du nationalisme, voir aussi Ernest Gellner, *Națiuni și naționalism. Noi perspective asupra trecutului* [Nations et nationalisme. Nouvelles perspectives sur le passé], Central European University, Editura Antet, 1997 et Camil Mureșan, *Națiune și naționalism. Evoluția naționalităților* [Nation et nationalisme. L’évolution des nationalités], Cluj-Napoca, Centrul de Studii Transilvane, 1996.

¹³ Gil Delannoi, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹⁴ Jean Leca, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹⁵ Gil Delannoi, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

3. La III-ème phase (le début du XX-ème siècle)

Celle-ci se caractérise par l'augmentation de la cohésion entre les leaders des mouvements nationaux et les masses, par l'essai d'éduquer les dernières en plan national politique¹⁷. Les nationalités du cadre de la monarchie habsbourgeoise se sont affirmées "à la charge du mythe habsbourgeois d'un empire fédératif et universaliste"¹⁸. L'émancipation des nationalités du cadre de l'empire dualiste hâta sa dislocation et sa disparition¹⁹.

"Le mythe habsbourgeois" fut "un mensonge politique" par lequel, l'Etat, pour éviter les problèmes posés par les nationalistes, mit sur le tapis des idées telles: "la légitimité supranationale de l'empereur, l'identité culturelle commune de l'Europe catholique contra réformée"²⁰, le danger ottoman etc. La question des nationalités était regardée comme un "sujet tabou"²¹.

Les idées mentionnées furent propagées, avec plus ou moins de succès, par cette partie-là de l'élite qui dépendait ou était incluse dans les structures de l'Etat, au niveau central ou provincial.

La typologie des élites de l'Empire Habsbourgeois est une assez compliquée, déterminant l'évolution de la société sur certains compartiments et étapes, mais aussi la stagnation ou la régression de celle-ci.

La noblesse représenta un des principaux piliers de résistance de l'Etat autrichien, qui, par privilège, se manifesta plusieurs fois comme une barrière contre le progrès et l'innovation. La catégorie mentionnée comprenait l'aristocratie et la haute noblesse – nommée *Hochadel* ou *Aristokratie*, et la petite noblesse – dénommée *Briefadel* ou *Dienstadel*.

Les membres de la grande noblesse portaient les titres de prince (*Fürst*), comte (Graf), et s'ils appartenaient à la famille impériale, celui d'archiduc (*Erzherzog*).

La petite noblesse obtenait ses titres grâce à des services, ses rangs étant: baron (*Freiherr*), chevalier (*Ritter*) et gentilhomme (*Edler*)²². Les élites politiques nobles des peuples soumis pas Allemands avaient la possibilité de pénétrer dans le cadre de la petite noblesse autrichienne.

¹⁷ Alan John Percivale Taylor, *Monarhia habsburgică (1809-1918). O istorie a Imperiului Austriac și a Austro-Ungariei* [La monarchie habsbourgeoise (1809-1918). Une histoire de l'Empire Autrichien et de l'Austro-Hongrie], traduction par Cornelia Bucur, București, ALLFA, 2000, p. 29-30.

¹⁸ Jacques Le Rider, *Jurnale intime vieneze* [Journaux intimes viennois], traduction de la langue française et préface par Magda Jeanrenaud, Iași, Polirom, 2001, p. 23.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Idem, *Europa Centrală sau paradoxul fragilității* [L'Europe Centrale ou le paradoxe de la fragilité], volume coordonnée par Dana Chetrinescu et Ciprian Vălcău, Iași, Polirom, 2001, p. 189.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² William M. Johnston, *Spiritul Vienei. O istorie intelectuală și socială* [L'esprit de la Vienne. Une histoire intellectuelle et sociale], Iași, Polirom, 2000, p. 51.

Malgré “la frivolité de la noblesse”, l’aristocratie apporta une importante contribution à la vie culturelle, par la philanthropie et le mécénat. Certains membres de la petite noblesse excellèrent dans des domaines comme la sociologie et la philosophie²³.

Les éléments constitutifs de l’élite noble de l’Empire Habsbourgeois, et ensuite de l’Empire Austro-hongrois, se manifestèrent plusieurs fois de manière oscillatoire et contradictoire, en fonction de ses propres intérêts, mais aussi de l’interaction avec des autres catégories sociales, comme les habitants des villes et les paysans.

Dépositaire de la structure prédominante agraire de l’empire, la grande noblesse garda relativement intacts ses privilèges et son importance, pendant la première moitié du XIX-ème siècle, bénéficiant du régime absolutiste et centraliste patronné par Metternich. Après la révolution de 1848-1849, la concurrence de la classe moyenne allemande, de facture urbaine, devint de plus en plus prégnante, sur le plan socio-économique, mais aussi politique, par la promotion et le soutien du courant libéral. Mais on ne doit pas oublier que la bureaucratie, provenue en majorité du milieu urbain, constitua l’autre pilier de l’Etat et du germanisme. “Le mythe habsbourgeois” put être mis en pratique avec des résultats partiels, plutôt grâce à la classe moyenne citadine, qu’à la noblesse.

La majorité des villes de la monarchie habsbourgeoise étaient “allemandes en esprit”²⁴. Les dénominations des centres urbains importants comme: Prague, Brno, Bratislava etc., furent germanisées, devenant Praha, Brünn, Pressburg. Pas seulement les noms deviennent allemands, mais aussi le comportement social des habitants, les activités économiques, le niveau de civilisation, les préoccupations culturelles. Les villes de la Galicie (Cracovie, Lvov), avec majorité polonaise, et biensûr, les villes italiennes, dont l’ancienne tradition urbaine n’avait pas besoin du modèle autrichien, firent exception²⁵.

Le caractère allemand des villes est plus lié de la classe sociale, que de la race. De cette manière, “le terme *allemand* définissait une classe”²⁶. Celle-ci comprenait les marchands, les artisans, les usuriers, mais aussi les fonctionnaires, les professeurs, les avocats etc. L’assimilation des éléments de civilisation allemande par des individus appartenant aux peuples soumis se manifesta certainement, mettant son empreinte dans une certaine mesure sur la manière de vivre ou de penser de ceux-ci. Le succès d’un phénomène semblable fut un partiel, étant valable surtout dans le milieu urbain et, après la création du dualisme, spécialement en Cisleithanie. Les abus de l’aristocratie hongroise ont freiné l’évolution et le développement de type urbain des nationalités soumises de Transleithanie (Roumains, Slovaques etc.). Par conséquent,

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²⁴ A. J. P. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

leurs élites sont liées surtout du milieu rural. Cette situation présentait, aussi, certains avantages, l'exemple des Roumains transylvains étant suggestif.

Dans le cadre de la société roumaine de la Transylvanie, il y avait peu d'antagonismes, parce que les paysans dirigeaient leur mécontentement envers les grands propriétaires fonciers hongrois, pendant que la petite bourgeoisie – vers la grande bourgeoisie hongroise. De cette manière, se développa une certaine solidarité entre les paysans et la petite bourgeoisie roumaine de la Transylvanie²⁷. L'aliénation de l'élite roumaine de celle hongroise contribua à la consolidation de la conscience nationale des Roumains transylvains²⁸.

Malheureusement, le nationalisme et l'arrogance des Hongrois eurent des conséquences néfastes pour les nationalités soumises (Slovaques, Roumains, Ukrainiens, Serbes, Croates etc.). Les officiels hongrois transgressaient de manière flagrante les droits et les libertés des nationalités, mais aussi les lois qui réglementaient leur situation. Quoique la *Loi des Nationalités* (réalisée par József Eötvös en 1868) garantisse en principe le droit de chaque individu à éducation et justice dans sa propre langue, la réalité était tout à fait différente. Les écoles et les tribunaux engageaient seulement des Hongrois. Ainsi, on empêchait les autres nationalités à avoir une bourgeoisie instruite, et par conséquent, suffisamment puissante. Pourtant, les intellectuels roumains de la Transylvanie prirent une position ferme vis-à-vis la transgression systématique de la *Loi des Nationalités* par les autorités hongroises, par le mouvement mémorandiste (1892-1896)²⁹.

Le terme d'"Hongrois" définit, à son tour, une classe, c'est-à-dire celle de la noblesse foncière, dont les principaux privilèges consistaient en: l'exemption des taxes, la participation aux assemblées régionales, le droit de vote aux élections pour la Diète³⁰ etc.

Après le moment de la révolution de 1848-1849, la situation de l'Autriche et de l'Hongrie siégera sous le signe d'une constante paradoxale – d'une perpétuelle pendaison entre compromis et état conflictuel sur tous les paliers de la société.

L'accord dressé à la moitié du XIX-ème siècle entre les magnats et les petits nobles hongrois prépara en fait le compromis de 1867 avec les Habsbourgeois³¹. La création du dualisme austro-hongrois n'apporta pas une amélioration réelle de la

²⁷ Keith Hitchins, *Afirmarea națiunii: Mișcarea națională românească din Transilvania, 1860-1914* [L'affirmation de la nation: le Mouvement national roumain de la Transylvanie, 1860-1914], traduction par Sorana Georgescu-Gorjan, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2000, p. 97.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁹ William M. Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 372; en liaison au mouvement mémorandiste et ses échos européens, voir le recueil de documents coordonné par Corneliu Mihail Lungu, *Diplomația europeană și mișcarea memorandistă (1892-1896)* [La diplomatie européenne et le mouvement mémorandiste (1892-1896)], București, Arhivele Statului din România, 1995.

³⁰ A. J. P. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

³¹ *Ibid.*

situation des peuples soumis de Transleithanie. Les abus des Hongrois continuèrent librement, l'empereur et l'administration centrale étant relativement manqués des instruments nécessaires à une intervention dans la politique interne de l'Hongrie.

Par le compromis austro-hongrois, le monarque Franz Joseph fut obligé à faire des sacrifices importants. Pourtant, celui-ci garda encore certains leviers de direction comme le contrôle sur la politique interne et la défense. Le dualisme mettait une série de problèmes et désagréments. L'existence de trois gouvernements (le gouvernement commun central, le gouvernement autrichien, le gouvernement hongrois) imposa une certaine fragilité dans la nouvelle configuration de l'Etat. Quoique le système se base sur le principe des partenaires égaux, la réalité l'infirma³².

Dans le cadre du Royaume de l'Hongrie, les Hongrois dominaient comme influence (n. n. pas comme nombre) les autres nationalités, qui, à cause du vote censitaire, ne purent pas former une opposition puissante.

La structure plus hétérogène de la Cisleithanie (cette partie de l'empire dualiste était divisée en 17 pays de couronne) la fit plus fragile en comparaison avec la Transleithanie. Les Allemands avaient en Cisleithanie, au niveau des années 1880, un poids de seulement 36,75 %, pendant que les Allemands détenaient en Hongrie un poids de 41,2%. Le contrôle que les Hongrois exerçaient sur les autres nationalités était plus grand que celui imposé par les Autrichiens³³. Ils seront obligés à faire face au soulèvement et à l'accentuation des mouvements panslavistes³⁴.

L'état conflictuel entre la monarchie centralisée et les provinces fut accompagné, la seconde moitié du XIX-ème siècle, par la concurrence entre la classe moyenne citadine et l'aristocratie, mais aussi par le "conflit entre la domination allemande et la diversité territoriale"³⁵. La dernière se manifesta au niveau des élites, mais aussi au niveau des nationalités.

Les élites allemandes nobles et citadines, soutenaient, même si par des moyens différents, le germanisme et le centralisme d'Etat, qui, soit leur préservait les privilèges, soit les apportaient des avantages.

Les élites des différents peuples soumis n'ont pas eu une réaction unitaire envers les élites allemandes. Mécontentes de la domination de la noblesse et de la classe moyenne autrichienne (en Cisleithanie) et hongroise (en Transleithanie), une partie de celles-ci embrassèrent la cause nationale – initialement, dans une forme modérée par les éléments aristocratiques, et ensuite dans une forme plus radicale grâce à la bourgeoisie.

Après 1867, les deux groupes nationaux dominants (les Autrichiens Allemands et les Hongrois) permirent à certaines nationalités comme les Polonais, respectivement les Croates, à acquérir une situation privilégiée à l'intérieur de la

³² Jean-Paul Bled, *Franz Joseph* [Franz Joseph], București, Editura Trei, 2002, p. 298.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³⁵ A. J. P. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Cisleithanie et de la Transleithanie. On développa de cette manière un dualisme dans le cadre du dualisme. En chaque moitié de l'empire, un groupe slave obtenait des privilèges importants en ce qui concernait son autogouvernement. Les Polonais dirigeaient la Galicie, bénéficiant de privilèges devant les autres populations de la province, les Ukrainiens, pendant que les Croates recevaient un statut ample d'autonomie dans le cadre de l'unité administrative politique Croatie - Slavonie³⁶. La situation des autres groupes slaves (Tchèques, Slovaques, Slovènes, Ukrainiens etc.) ne changea de manière significative, déterminant vers la fin du XIX-ème siècle, des réactions nationalistes. On remarque en ce sens les Tchèques de la Bohême et de la Moravie, qui, grâce à la croissance de leur poids numérique vis-à-vis la population allemande dominante, demanderont un plus grand degré d'autonomie dans le cadre de l'empire³⁷.

Les changements sociaux et économiques déterminés par la révolution industrielle, ainsi que ceux culturels, imposés par le réveil de la conscience nationale des Tchèques, lancèrent le mouvement d'émancipation de ce peuple-ci. Le développement de l'industrie textile, et ensuite de l'industrie lourde et d'armement de la Bohême firent les Tchèques s'éloigner de plus en plus de l'espace rural, les dirigeant vers les villes. De cette manière, le rapport démographique entre ceux-ci et les Allemands commencera se modifier. Si le long du XIX-ème siècle, Prague (Praha) avait une population majoritaire allemande, au recensement de 1910 les Tchèques représentaient déjà 94 % de la population de la ville.

L'apparition d'une bourgeoisie tchèque puissante donna des impulsions au mouvement national, surtout que sa force économique n'était pas accompagnée par une puissance politique à mesure. A la fin du XIX-ème siècle, l'orientation vers le milieu urbain créa la nécessité d'une culture nationale propre, originale. L'année 1881, s'ouvrit le théâtre bohémien, où on jouait, en majorité, des pièces des auteurs tchèques, et en 1882, à Praga, on fonda une université tchèque³⁸. Grâce à ces mutations socio-économiques et culturelles, le parti nationaliste les Jeunes Tchèques apparut de manière naturelle³⁹.

Le problème bohémien se manifesta comme une véritable "pomme de la discorde" entre les différents gouvernements, les hommes politiques et l'opinion publique autrichienne. A son tour, l'empereur Franz Joseph, s'impliqua, essayant à manipuler les Tchèques contre les libéraux allemands, qu'il considérait nuisibles pour la stabilité de l'Etat⁴⁰.

La politique autrichienne connut jusqu'en 1867 une ainsi nommée domination

³⁶ Nick Pelling, *Imperiul Habsburgic (1815-1918)* [L'Empire Habsbourgeois (1815-1918)], traduction par Constantin Vlad, București, Editura All, 2002, p. 110.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 112-113.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

libérale. Cette situation fut en permanence critiquée par l'empereur. Le Parti Libéral Allemand était une formation politique anticléricale, ses membres submergeant en permanence les positions de l'église catholique, par la révocation du Concordat de 1855 et l'annulation du monopole clérical sur l'enseignement et l'office du mariage. Les libéraux étaient les adeptes de l'échange libre, entrant en conflit avec l'aristocratie foncière.

La conception du Parti Libéral, conformément à laquelle le monarque aurait du répondre devant le Parlement, représenta une cause importante des tensions entre l'empereur et celui-ci. L'apogée de l'état conflictuel entre les libéraux et Franz Joseph fut atteint l'année 1878, lorsqu'ils se prononcèrent contre l'annexion de la Bosnie et de l'Herzégovine.

On écarta du pouvoir le Parti Libéral, l'empereur nomma comme premier un ancien ami, le comte Taaffe. Sous la direction du monarque, pour isoler du point de vue politique les libéraux, se forma une coalition hétérogène, à laquelle participèrent: les féodaux, les clercs (le Parti de l'Eglise Catholique) et les Polonais galiciens (fidèles à l'Etat parce qu'ils jouissaient d'une grande autonomie). Les Tchèques furent convaincus à participer au bloc antilibéral de l'année 1880, recevant du gouvernement Taaffe le droit que, les officialités de la Bohême et de la Moravie puissent utiliser la langue tchèque dans leurs relations avec la population autochtone⁴¹.

Les contemporains nommèrent cette coalition entre les féodaux, les clercs catholiques et une partie des Slaves "l'anneau en fer" (n. n. dans le sens d'encerclement ou isolation) autour des libéraux. Les concessions accordées aux Bohémiens conduirent à la chute de Taaffe, mais aussi à l'augmentation de la force du Parti des Jeunes Tchèques. Les Slovènes eurent, à leur tour, des demandes similaires⁴².

On instaura après le gouvernement Taaffe le cabinet conduit par le prince Alfred Windischgrätz, soutenu par la Gauche Unie Libérale, par les adeptes de Hohenwart et par les Polonais. Suivit un gouvernement de transition, dirigé par le comte Kielmannsegg, ensuite se forma "le gouvernement de main forte" de l'ancien gouverneur de la Galicie, le comte Kasimir Badeni.

Celui-ci réussit à imposer l'année 1897 la réforme électorale, projet pas finalisé par ses prédécesseurs. Aux quatre curies électorales déjà existantes s'ajouta une autre, de plus, dans lesquelles tous les hommes ayant plus de 24 ans avaient droit de vote. Mais la curie générale ne put pas s'imposer devant celles censitaires. Malgré le succès obtenu sur le plan de la réforme de la loi électorale, on élimina Badeni du front du gouvernement, à cause à la décision qu'en Bohême, les offices civils soient bilingues⁴³.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁴³ Erich Zöllner, *Istoria Austriei de la începuturi până în prezent* [L'histoire de l'Autriche de ses débuts jusqu'au présent], la VIII-ème édition, le II-ème volume, traduction par Adolf Armbruster, București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1997, p. 530-531.

Les parlementaires et les fonctionnaires allemands eurent une réaction dure, l'escalade des troubles déterminant l'empereur à suspendre, le 28 novembre 1897, le parlement et à destituer le gouvernement.

Le nouveau gouvernement sera conduit par le baron Gautsch von Frankenthurn, qui avait détenu dans le cabinet antérieur le portefeuille de l'enseignement. Gautsch prit la décision de modifier le fond des décisions liées de l'usage de la langue dans les offices publiques, dans le sens que, "chaque fonctionnaire devait maîtriser les langues nécessaires à son office"⁴⁴.

En mars 1898, on institua un autre gouvernement, présidé par le comte Franz Thun-Hohenstein (noble de la Bohême). Ni celui-ci ne réussit pas à résoudre les disputes liées de l'usage de la langue propre par les nationalités. Le conflit eut une grande intensité dans des provinces comme: la Bohême, la Moravie, la Dalmatie, la Silésie autrichienne, la Galicie, étant plus réduit dans la "Bucovine polyglotte"⁴⁵. Si les fonctionnaires de haut rang manifestèrent leur attachement envers la monarchie, ceux moyens ou petits appartenant aux peuples soumis, soutinrent les demandes de leurs propres concitoyens⁴⁶.

L'idéologie supranationale et "le mythe habsbourgeois", qui aurait dû rassembler les nationalités de l'empire, s'heurtèrent justement de la résistance d'une partie des Allemands nationalistes, qui avaient des idées pangermanistes⁴⁷. Ceux-ci se rallièrent temporairement à Georg von Schönerer, le but duquel était "l'annexion des régions autrichiennes allemandes, inclusivement les pays sudètes, à l'Empire Allemand"⁴⁸. Les années '80 du XIX-ème siècle, Schönerer déclancha un courant antisémite⁴⁹, continué ensuite par les chrétiens sociaux du docteur Karl Lueger⁵⁰.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Jacques Le Rider, *Modernitatea vinează și crizele identității* [La modernité viennoise et les crises de l'identité], traduction par Magda Jeanrenaud, la II-ème édition, Iași, Polirom, Editura Universității „Al. I. Cuza”, 1995, p. 32.

⁴⁸ Erich Zöllner, *op. cit.*, p. 528.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ Karl Lueger (1844-1910) – maire de Vienne entre les années 1897-1910. Ayant une origine humble (le fils du concierge de *Technische Hochschule* – le Collège Technique), il connaissait bien les problèmes de la couche inférieure de la classe moyenne. Il fut élève à *Theresianum*, recevant de cette manière une éducation distinguée. Il ne regarda d'un bon œil le compromis avec la Hongrie, devenant un puissant souteneur de la propagande antihongroise. L'année 1866, il prit son doctorat en droit, travaillant les années '70 du XIX-ème siècle comme avocat libéral, et, commençant avec l'année 1875, occupant la fonction de conseiller citoyen. Le long d'une décennie, il renonça au libéralisme, s'affiliant au courant socialiste. Comme membre de Reichsrat, il critiqua, en 1885, le rôle du monopole juif dans le cadre du capitalisme international. Grâce à la collaboration avec le socialiste catholique Karl von Vogelsang, il inclut une série d'idées de celui-ci dans la doctrine du Parti Chrétien Social (*Christlichsoziale Partei*), apparu en 1893. Lueger

Les intérêts des prolétaires autrichiens étaient défendus par le Parti Social - Démocrate, uni et dirigé par Viktor Adler. Les ouvriers des zones industrielles de l'Autriche Inférieure, de la Bohême, de la Moravie et de la Styrie constituèrent la base de cette formation politique. Les sociaux – démocrates se manifestèrent de manière plus prégnante surtout après 1890, adoptant les thèses de Karl Marx. Le courant politique social-démocrate, quoiqu'il ait en principe une conception internationaliste, dut s'adapter aux conflits entre les nationalités de l'empire. Les Tchèques firent note discordante, leur attitude étant une nationaliste⁵¹.

Si la majorité de nationalités soumises de l'empire habsbourgeois se créèrent des mouvements nationaux propres, essayant de diverses formes d'émancipation

représenta cette partie-là de la classe moyenne qui avait souffert à cause de l'industrialisation. Il fut le créateur du socialisme municipal, s'élevant dans le défenseur des petits marchands et propriétaires qu'on pouvait protéger du "monopole entrepreneur".

Ses réalisations comme maire de Vienne furent nombreuses: le passage sous le contrôle de la municipalité du réseau d'alimentation avec combustible, l'électrification l'année 1902 des tramways, l'introduction de l'illumination publique, la constitution de l'abattoir et du principal marché de la ville. Après avoir refusé les demandes d'emprunt pour financer le réseau de combustible par les banques juives de Vienne, Lueger put mettre en application son projet avec l'appui de Deutsche Bank de Berlin. Il continua et élargit les services municipaux de Vienne, le développement desquels fut commencé par les maires antérieurs de la capitale de l'Autriche (Cajetan Felder). Grâce à sa conception socialiste, Karl Lueger se préoccupa de la situation des couches pauvres, ramassant des ressources pour les institutions qui devaient les appuyer. Il construisit de nombreux écoles, asiles, hôpitaux pour les pauvres. Il doubla le nombre des parcs de la Vienne, il aménagea une Piscine sur la rive du Danube, il disposa l'ornementation des réverbères avec des pots à fleurs. Parmi les mesures d'aide des citoyens s'inscrivent, aussi: la fondation d'une Caisse d'Épargne et d'un fond de pensions, tous les deux mis sous le contrôle de la municipalité. Mais la personnalité et l'activité politique de Lueger eurent, aussi, des éléments plus controversés, comme l'antisémitisme. Plusieurs fois, il dénonça le capital étranger et juif pour bénéficier de l'appui des petits producteurs et commerçants, dont les affaires commencèrent à déchoir ou à faire faillite. Son image dans les rangées de l'opinion publique viennoise était une extrêmement bonne, malgré ses conceptions antisémites. Le maire de Vienne devait faire son propre image devant ses concitoyens, tout en participant à certains événements sociaux (baptêmes, noces, noces d'or, la visite des malades, passer son temps libre auprès des ses propres électeurs en cafés et brasseries etc.).

Dans le cadre d'une Autriche rétrograde du point de vue économique (n. n. en comparaison avec l'Allemagne) on regardait Lueger comme un politicien de l'avenir, qui, par charisme, action politique, (n. n. mais aussi par populisme) était aimé par les masses. A sa mort causée par le diabète, l'année 1910, les citoyens de Vienne le conduirent sur le dernier chemin, ayant une des plus fastueuses funérailles de l'histoire de la ville. – cf. W. M. Johnston, *op.cit.*, pp. 75-78; voir aussi Margareta Mommsen-Reindl, *Österreich. (Christlichsoziale Partei)*, dans le dictionnaire coordonné par Frank Wende, *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Porbelen in Europa*, Stuttgart, Kröner Verlag, 1981, pp. 446-448.

⁵¹ Erich Zöllner, *op. cit.*, p. 529-530.

politique et culturelle, les Juifs représentent certainement un cas spécial, sur lequel il est nécessaire nous arrêter.

Ils représentaient l'unique identité culturelle, qui n'était pas reconnue comme nationalité. On regardait les Juifs comme un "peuple d'Etat" (*Staat Volk*), complice de l'idéologie impériale, désavoué par les autres nationalités⁵² (n. n. parfois jusqu'à l'antisémitisme).

Les contributions spirituelles et matérielles des Juifs au développement et au progrès de l'empire furent significatives. On ne peut pas dissocier le concept de "modernité viennoise" (*Wiener Moderne*)⁵³ de l'apport intellectuel des penseurs juifs. Ceux-ci donnèrent à l'Autriche de nombreuses personnalités, revendiquées par le patrimoine culturel allemand, ainsi que par celui universel, comme: Freud, Husserl, Kelsen, Wittgenstein, Mahler, Kraus, Roth etc.

On peut se demander comment on arriva, vers la fin du XIX-ème siècle et le début du XX-ème, à une véritable "domination intellectuelle des Juifs"⁵⁴? L'historien A. J. P. Taylor nous offre une série d'hypothèses. Une d'elles est celle que, le succès des Juifs aurait donnée la cohésion des communautés juives. Est-elle déterminée par la religion, les mœurs, l'éducation, la race ou de leur combinaison?

A l'intermédiaire de la religion de la tribu, les Juifs ont soutenu "un type archaïque d'unité"⁵⁵, qui put résister au processus d'assimilation. Les Israélites, comme les Allemands, se répandirent dans l'empire tout entier, étant cosmopolites par leur appartenance à une communauté plus large⁵⁶. Sur plan économique, les Juifs oscillèrent entre la compétition avec les chrétiens (dans les zones urbaines de la monarchie) et la complémentarité (dans les zones rurales)⁵⁷.

Leur comportement social se plia, la seconde moitié du XIX-ème siècle, sur des fondements idéologiques du libéralisme (capital, concurrence, échange libre), une bonne partie des Juifs autrichiens adhèrent au Parti Libéral Allemand.

Quoique, entre la seconde moitié du XVIII-ème siècle et le début du XIX-ème (jusqu'à 1848), la situation des Juifs de l'Empire Habsbourgeois était une précaire, on les "toléra" certaines initiatives et responsabilités par lesquelles on apporta des services à la monarchie. De cette manière, des familles comme Arnstein et Eskeles purent être ennoblies. Mais les germes de l'assimilation des Juifs viennois par la conversion au christianisme (de rite catholique ou protestant) commencèrent à apparaître. Les conversions ont moins un sens religieux, se réalisant plutôt par des intérêts professionnels ou sociaux. Le nombre de ceux passés au christianisme ne dépassera

⁵² Jacques Le Rider, *Jurnale intime vieneze* (...) p. 23.

⁵³ Idem, *Modernitatea vieneză și crizele identității* (...) p. 17 et les suivantes.

⁵⁴ W. M. Johnston, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

jamais 10% du total des Juifs⁵⁸.

Après 1848, le libéralisme autrichien leur offrit une série de concessions en ce qui concerne les droits et les responsabilités sociaux politiques, avec des résultats, malheureusement, mineurs.

Le Juif libéral Adolf Fischhoff, participant à la révolution de 1848-1849, adhérent de l'idée d'une "Europe Centrale des peuples", était l'adepte de la création d'une confédération, dans laquelle les nationalités constituent une association de peuples (Völker-Verein). Fischhoff considérait que les libéraux desservent la cause allemande, tout en se comportant comme des hégémonistes vis-à-vis des Slaves, étant les promoteurs actifs de la germanisation et du centralisme⁵⁹.

Les réactions des différentes classes sociales ou nationalités à l'adresse des Juifs se trouvèrent maintes fois sous le signe de la méfiance. La bourgeoisie craignait la concurrence juive, pendant que l'aristocratie et le clergé étaient suspicieux que leurs positions et leurs privilèges leur seraient menacés. La déchéance du libéralisme viennois, la dernière décennie du XIX^e-ième siècle, apporta sur la scène politique des personnages avec des vues antisémites comme le maire chrétien – social de la capitale impériale, Karl Lueger⁶⁰.

Le germanisme et le centralisme étaient étroitement liés de "la tradition autrichienne du libéralisme"⁶¹, à laquelle adhéra la plus grande partie des Juifs assimilés. On développa de cette manière une alliance entre ceux-ci et les Autrichiens Allemands. "Les Juifs de la Cisleithanie acceptaient comme une évidence la supériorité culturelle et politique des Allemands de l'Autriche"⁶². Mais malheureusement, les libéraux autrichiens manifestèrent une faible opposition envers l'antisémitisme, pendant que l'Etat ne reconnut jamais les Juifs comme une nationalité distincte. La législation habsbourgeoise rappelait seulement la confession israélite, pendant que la langue hébraïque n'eut pas un statut de langue nationale. Par éducation, culture, presse, les Juifs défendirent le libéralisme, même lorsque quand celui-ci déchu en plan social et électoral. Les trois domaines contribuèrent à leur assimilation, les apportant pourtant une série de désavantages, aussi⁶³.

Tout en commençant avec les dernières décennies du XIX^e-ième, l'importance des Juifs dans la vie culturelle de Vienne augmenta significativement. Mais on remarque, aussi, une discordance entre le degré de leur participation à la vie intellectuelle viennoise et le poids démographique assez réduit. Les Juifs comprurent que, par éducation, peuvent bénéficier d'une ascension rapide sur plan social, les familles d'Israélites prenant pratiquement à l'assaut le système éducatif de la capitale

⁵⁸ Jacques Le Rider, *op. cit.*, p. 231-232.

⁵⁹ Idem, *Europa Centrală sau paradoxul fragilității* (...), p. 185.

⁶⁰ Idem, *Modernitatea vineză și crizele identității* (...), p. 233.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 234-235.

impériale, mais aussi des capitales des provinces. Vers 1900, un quart des étudiants de la Faculté de Droit et une moitié des étudiants à la médecine appartenaient à la communauté juive. Pratiquants des professions libérales ou du secteur tertiaire (services), ils représentèrent une “véritable réserve démographique de la production culturelle”⁶⁴ viennoise.

Malheureusement, en Autriche, les courants antisémites avaient une “ancienne tradition”. L’ainsi nommé “antisémitisme autrichien traditionnel” comprenait: l’antijudaïsme aristocratique et clérical, l’attitude hostile des individus appartenant aux nationalités soumises vis-à-vis la solidarité des Juifs avec les nations dominantes, l’émergence sur la scène politique des partis avec programmes antisémites, comme “la faction pangermanique” de Schönerer et le Parti Chrétien Social de Lueger. La croissance démographique des Juifs en certains quartiers viennois accentua la xénophobie et la peur envers la concurrence juive⁶⁵.

L’évolution de la vie politique de la monarchie habsbourgeoise la seconde moitié du XIX^{ème} siècle se caractérisa par de nombreuses fractures⁶⁶. Le courant libéral, qui domina la période comprise entre la révolution de 1848 et le compromis qui mena à l’apparition du dualisme austro-hongrois, commença à perdre du terrain devant l’exacerbation du nationalisme, mais aussi de certains partis de gauche (le Parti Social Démocrate Autrichien) ou de partis populistes (le Parti Chrétien Social, le Parti Catholique).

L’essai de l’empereur Francisc Iosif de détourner l’attention de la question nationale, par des modifications de la loi électorale (l’introduction du vote universel, l’année 1907), ne fit autre chose que compliquer le paysage politique. Le suffrage universel apporta du gain de cause aux deux partis de masse (les chrétiens sociaux obtenant 97 places dans le parlement, les sociaux démocrates – 87 mandats), pendant que dans la Chambre inférieure du Reichsrat entrèrent 28 partis⁶⁷, avec des intérêts divergents ou contradictoires.

Les nationalités soumises de l’empire suivront obstinément l’objectif de l’émancipation nationale, au niveau des masses, mais aussi des élites. La collaboration des dernières avec les leaders soulevés des rangées de la classe moyenne ou des couches plus pauvres de la population fit extrêmement difficile la concrétisation des idées soutenus par l’Etat. On ne put pas empêcher le soulèvement des mouvements nationaux des peuples moins développés du point de vue économique en sens bourgeois libéral, pendant que l’apparition des partis nationalistes radicalisa les conflits du sein de la société habsbourgeoise, spécialement, entre le centre et les provinces.

⁶⁴*Ibid.*, p. 237.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, p. 239-240.

⁶⁶Erich Zöllner, *op. cit.*, p. 590.

⁶⁷Jean-Paul Bled, *op. cit.*, p. 538.

Les privilèges accordés de manière contrôlée à des nationalités, comme les Polonais galiciens – en Cisleithanie, et aux Croates – en Hongrie, levèrent biensûr les mécontentements et les frustrations des autres (Ukrainiens, Tchèques, Slovènes, Roumains, Italiens etc.).

Dans un contexte semblable, des provinces périphériques, plus faiblement développées comme la Bucovine, prétendront l'amélioration de leur statut dans le cadre de l'empire dualiste. On fit un premier pas pendant la révolution de 1848, qui, quoiqu'elle n'eut pas un caractère radical en Bucovine, déclancha une effervescence nationale, manifestée initialement sur le plan de l'émancipation culturelle, et ensuite, quelques décennies plus tard, dans celui de l'émancipation politique et des partis.

THE PECULIARITIES OF THE DIRECT METHOD USAGE IN TEACHING SPEAKING FOREIGN LANGUAGES IN GALICIA AND BUKOVINA (1890–1918)

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Rezumat: În acest articol sunt analizate particularitățile aplicării metodei directe în studierea învățării limbilor străine în Galiția și Bucovina (în perioada anilor 1890–1918). Autoarea pune în evidență premisele aplicării metodei directe de studiu a limbilor străine, precum și influența altor științe asupra dezvoltării metodicii de predare a acestora. În continuare, sunt dezbătute particularitățile aplicării metodei directe de învățare a limbilor străine în provinciile austriece Galiția și Bucovina. De asemenea, este prezentată metodică învățării vorbirii limbilor străine în Galiția și Bucovina, în contextul utilizării metodei directe de predare.

Abstract: The given article researches the peculiarities of the usage of the direct method in teaching foreign language speaking in Galicia and Bukovina (1890–1918). It analyses the preconditions of appearance in the European science of the direct method of teaching of foreign languages and the influence of contiguous sciences on the methodology of teaching of foreign languages. In this article, the peculiarities of realization of the direct method of teaching (i.e. for foreign languages) in Galicia and Bukovina are observed. The methodology of teaching of foreign language speaking in the process of realization of the direct method in the west of Ukraine is described.

Résumé: Dans cet article il s'agit des particularités de l'utilisation de la méthode directe dans l'apprentissage des langues étrangères en Galicie et en Bucovine (les années 1890–1918). On fait l'analyse des conditions de l'apparition de la méthode directe, l'impact des sciences adjacentes sur le développement de méthodes d'étude des langues étrangères. On explore les particularités de réalisation de la méthode directe d'étude des langues étrangères. On décrit la méthodologie d'enseigner à parler dans le processus de la réalisation de la méthode directe dans l'apprentissage des langues étrangères en Galicie et en Bucovine.

Keywords: methodology, teaching of foreign languages, the direct method, Galicia, Bukovina.

Modern ideas of the place and role of methods of teaching foreign language in Galicia and Bukovina in the first half of the 20th century harmonize with the theory of globalization as the expanding and extending the retrospective knowledge given the parallel processes of differentiation, regionalization and multiculturalism. Naturally, in this regard, the importance of regionalization in all of its manifestations

is constantly increasing. Regional peculiarities Galicia and Bukovina act not as the relics of the past, but as a direct result of a multi-faceted in its manifestations process of cultural evolution. The research of the peculiarity of the development of teaching foreign languages (FL) methods in Galicia and Bukovina allows supporting the idea of the 'multi-facetedness' of the historical process with the specific historical material, to identify the causes and consequences of the existing diversity of approaches, principles, methods of teaching FL. The chronological framework of the research allows better to take into consideration the historical, social and political factors that influenced the development of the methods.

In this regard, there emerges the need for system research of the trends in methods of FL teaching in Galicia and Bukovina, the expansion of the problem field, the formation of historical thinking. The analysis of methodological works, including the ones by I. V. Rachmanov (studied the methodological problems of teaching of the modern western European languages of the 19th and 20th centuries)¹, V. Ye. Raushenbah (analyzed the methods of I–XX centuries), H. Ye. Vedel (continued to shed the light upon this issue up to the middle of the 20th century)², O. O. Mirolyubov (analyzed the state of the methods of foreign languages teaching in the 19th–21st centuries)³, R. A. Kuznetsova (researching the history of methods of teaching foreign languages in the Soviet non-linguistic higher educational institutions)⁴, N. I. Gez, H. M. Frolova (studied the history of foreign language teaching methodology)⁵ and others enables us to make the statement – in the historiography of FL teaching methods the given problem in Galicia and Bukovina had not been the object of the scientific research.

Considering all of the above, we define the objective of the given article as to analyse the features of using the direct method in teaching speaking foreign languages in Galicia and Bukovina (1890–1918).

¹ И. В. Рахманов *Очерк по истории методики преподавания новых западноевропейских иностранных языков* [Methodological problems of teaching of the modern western European languages], М.: Учпедгиз, 1947. – 196 с.

² Г. Е. Ведель, *Из истории методов преподавания иностранных языков* [The history of the methods of foreign languages teaching], Воронеж : Изд-во Воронеж. ун-та, 1979. – 54 с.

³ А. А. Миролубов *История отечественной методики обучения иностранным языкам* [The history of foreign methodology of foreign languages teaching], Москва: Ступени; Инфа-М., 2002. – 448 с.

⁴ Р. А. Кузнецова *Из истории методики обучения иностранным языкам в советских неязыковых вузах* [The history of the methods the foreign languages teaching in 1900–1923], Изд-во Казан. ун-та, 1969. – 46 с.

⁵ Н. И. Гез, *История зарубежной методики преподавания иностранных языков : учебное пособие для студ. лингв. ун-тов и фак. ин. яз. высш. пед. учеб. заведений* [The history of foreign methodology of foreign languages teaching], Москва, Издательский центр Академия, 2008. – 256 с.

It is significant to bring up that in the researched period (1890–1918) Galicia and Bukovina belonged to Austria-Hungary. Educational reforms that began in Europe in the 70-80's of the 19th century, were considered in the history of FL teaching methods as the reaction to the translation methods used in teaching classical languages and were transferred to the methodology of teaching foreign languages.

Development of methods of teaching FL in the west of Ukraine was taking place in dissoluble connection and under the influence of world-wide, European, economic, social, and cultural progress. Methodical trends of the “Reform movement” in Europe influenced the development of FL teaching methods in Galicia and Bukovina. In particular, the end of the 19th century is characterized by the increase of interest in FL teaching. Questions concerning FL teaching during this period were being raised as the regional school boards of Galicia and Bukovina in pedagogical periodicals at that time, as well as at the state level – in legal documents concerning education, which led to changes in curricula, textbooks, FL teaching methods and others.

The leading ideas in the development of FL teaching methods in Galicia and Bukovina in the period relevant for our research includes the change of the FL teaching objective, which led to the transition from the translation methods to the direct method of FL teaching.

Methodological trend of the Reform was not homogeneous, as many linguists, psychologists, methodologists participated in it: B. Eggert, H. Wendt, W. Vietor, F. Franke, M. Berlitz and M. Walter in Germany, F. Gouin, P. Passy, S. Schweizer, H. Sweet, E. Simonot and J. Carre - in France, K. Breul in England, S. Alge in Belgium, O. Yespersen in Denmark, and M. Pilmgren in Sweden⁶.

The method that emerged during the period of reforms in the European countries had the following names: antigrammar, rational, specific, natural, visual, intuitive, immediate (this name is found in Western methodological works), direct. The most common name is the direct method, which we shall use in our thesis.

Let us mention that the representatives of the direct method opposed the following:

- primacy of the printed text;
- rigid grammar rules which were not appropriate for the actual spoken language;
- lack of attention to the study of phonetics;
- isolated study of words;
- use of translation⁷.

Thus, the direct method prioritized the practical purposes, and above all – teaching speaking, which gave students a quick, though not quite accurate, at most,

⁶ Н. И. Гез, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

limited knowledge of the FL, namely, the ability to verbally communicate with foreigners within the limits of casual short dialogues. The proponents of this method anticipated that a child who is studying FL, knows neither translation nor grammar, he/she just listens to the language, trying to imitate it. Hence, while teaching FL one should avoid translation and grammar; the pupil should listen to a foreign language, try to imitate it, thus this is the way of gaining proficiency in oral speech. Because of this, the teaching-learning process should be conducted only in FL; from the first lesson the teacher had refuse to use the native language, replacing it with various facial expressions, gestures, pictures, synonyms, antonyms etc. A lot of effort and attention were required from the pupils to imitate the teacher. However, despite the shortcomings of the direct method, it has gained wide acceptance, particularly, as a result, the school back then had to had meet a new goal stipulated by social development.

The purpose of teaching FL in Galicia and Bukovina in the studied period was to make the pupils able to express their thoughts orally and in writing, to learn the syntax and declination (at the lower proficiency level), be able to talk quickly (at the highest proficiency level); to know about the foreign language literature from reading the most famous literary works of 18th-19th centuries⁸. The levels of education at that time were as follows: primary forms (lower level - I, II and III forms), middle forms (middle level - IV, V and VI forms), senior forms (higher level- VII and VIII forms).

Opportunely, we should also mention that we discovered the concept of the middle level of learning-teaching FL only in Galicia curricula and methodological works of the studied period⁹. There is no proof of teaching FL at the middle level in Bukovina, it is all just about learning in the middle forms, at the middle level. In these regions the education was divided into lower and higher levels. Thus, the middle forms, according to the methodologists of Galicia, we shall call the middle level.

According to the demand of the society in the new socio-economic conditions the contemporary in Galicia and Bukovina methodologists had to implement a new objective in the secondary school as soon as possible. Therefore, in addition to social factors, the achievements of the relevant for methods of FL teaching sciences were of great significance.

The achievements of linguistics had some influence on the development of the direct method of FL teaching. Thus, a new trend in linguistics became the linguistic school of "Neogrammarians" that emerged in the 70's in Leipzig (Germany). The representatives of this trend were K. Brugmann, H. Paul, B.

⁸*Plany Naukowe dla Szkół ludowych Pospolitych pięcio-i szescio-klasowych męskich, żeńskich i mieszanych wraz z instrukcją*[Research Plans for the ordinary folk Schools with five-and six-class male, female and mixed with the instruction], Lwowie, 1893, p. 4.

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 2

Delbrück, H. Osthoff¹⁰. Their idea consisted in identifying the language and national spirit, the study of folk psychology manifested in customs, material and spiritual culture of the nation. Based on numerous observations and comparisons of linguistic phenomena “Neogrammarians” created a lot of linguistic laws in the fields of phonetics and morphology. Their main achievement was the complete denial of verbal-scholastic research methods, of the old ideas of language and learning of the actual spoken language, of recognition of the priority of speech over written language. Neogrammarians denied any comparison, considering that the linguistic material can only be understood from the context, hence the requirement for learning grammar by inductive method, allowing to accumulate grammatical material, compile it and get the results appeared. In addition, it was considered that the words do not exist beyond the context and one can study the words and understand the causative relations between them only in the context.

The Neogrammarian School had a positive impact on the development of linguistics: they justified the importance of phonetics in the study of language as well as in teaching FL, linguists began to distinguish between sounds and letters; the international phonetic transcription was developed; phonetics became an independent linguistic science.

Noteworthy, the conceptual framework of Neogrammarians in Galicia and Bukovina was only partially implemented, in particular advantage of speech over written language was not supported, since writing was perfected not only by forming ability to express one’s views on the read works everyday situations, but also by writing letters of various kinds, business papers. Therefore, we believe that oral and written speech at that time were equally important means of mastering FL. As for the idea of identifying language and national spirit, material and spiritual culture, the language of which was studied, it was fully implemented. This is proved by the curricula, textbooks and works of methodologists which dealt with exploring culture and customs of the people and the study of linguistic phenomena based on the content of the coherent text and various genres of literature. Furthermore, a comparison of linguistic phenomena of FL with native language in the studied period in Galicia and Bukovina was believed to be one of the methods of explanation of the grammatical material.

The linguistics of that period can be characterized by a psychological approach to the analysis of linguistic phenomena. The emergence of new application field of psychology, namely educational psychology, contributed to the rapprochement of the two sciences. The main role in this interaction was played by the associative psychology, later called experimental psychology of W. Wundt¹¹,

¹⁰ Н. И. Гез, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

who investigated the properties of consciousness, attention and memory based on visual and auditory senses. He strongly believed that the formation of more stable feelings and ideas in the mind depends on the number of roused feelings, and the strongest of them are caused by visual and auditory sensations. Wundt said that in the process of speech the sentences appear in the consciousness as a coherent picture, the components of which are created at the moment of speaking. Associations as passively experienced processes are not confined to mere unity of images or elements. At the same time, Wundt introduces the concept of apperception, i.e. conditionality of perception of certain objects or phenomena of objective world via one's previous experience and psychological state at the moment of perception. He analyses the actively experienced processes¹². Overall the psychology of the given period allowed the authors of the reform to identify the following principles of teaching FL: as the memory is based on associations, remembering and forgetting of verbal material depends on the strength of associative links; translation as the main way of setting interlingual associations was replaced the associations between concepts and words of FL.

Note that the theoretical basis of associative psychology in the studied period was partially used, in particular, translation remained the main link between a word and a concept.

Gestalt psychology also influenced the teaching methodology. Its representatives (Max Wertheimer, Kurt Koffka)¹³ The main principles of Gestalt psychology were implemented in Galicia and Bukovina entirely, while speaking was being taught on the basis of whole sentences in the context of a specific conversational topic, using the texts of fiction.

So, as you can see, some conceptual principles of Neogrammarians, associative psychology were being used only to some extent, and some, such as those of Gestalt psychology were being used entirely, which allows us to affirm the deliberate use of new trends while teaching FL taken into account the learning environment in Galicia and Bukovina.

Having analyzed the impact of linguistic and psychological ideas of European scientists on the development of FL teaching methods, we shall move on to the details of the direct method of teaching FL in Galicia and Bukovina (1890–1918).

In 1890–1918 the direct method, which was implemented by combining the individual principles of the translation and direct methods functioned in Galicia and Bukovina. The teachers in Galicia and Bukovina were taking into account in FL

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹³ *Методика викладання іноземних мов у середніх навчальних закладах : підручн. для студентів вищих навч. закл.* [Teaching foreign languages in middle educational schools] / О. Б. Бігич, С. В. Гапонова, Г. А. Гринюк та ін.; керівн. автор. кол. С. Ю. Ніколаєва (2-е вид.), К. : Ленвіт, 2002, p. 290.

teaching the linguistic and psychological peculiarities of FL teaching, substantiated by the scientists of that period, and their implementation in the conditions of teaching, as well as the experience of teachers. This made it possible to outline the principles of the *direct method*, which remained *unchanged* during the researched period: the widespread use of phonetics, teaching speaking based on everyday language, the widespread use of figurative (pictures, objects, models, imitations) and verbal visualizations (synonyms, antonyms, word formation, definitions, etymology, context, etc.).

Principles which were interpreted differently: the use of the native language at an initial stage to explain unfamiliar vocabulary and grammatical phenomena; inductive method of grammar teaching (giving grammatical rules at the primary level); use of translation as a means of control of lexical and grammatical knowledge on the higher level of education.

New principles that appeared in the given period: knowledge of history, literature of the 18th - 19th centuries, familiarization of pupils with all genres of fiction; the comparison of the linguistic phenomena of FL with those of the native language.

The FL curriculum of 1894 contains information that proves that teaching speaking at the elementary stage was initiated by the teacher, who asked different questions, and the pupils had to give the correct answers, which were the core of further learning and in the future facilitated independent translation of excerpts from texts, works of fiction without teacher's assistance¹⁴.

The teacher had to address the question to the class, so that each pupil was ready answer it. Questions, which the teacher asked the pupils, had to be well thought-out and clear. Each next question had to follow logically the previous one; as such this kind of work had to be transformed into a dialogue. The teacher had also to predict the pupil's answer, check the lexical and grammatical knowledge, which pupils were using in their responses, at the moment of speaking. The contents of such conversations conformed to the text which was being learned at the given lesson. Later on, the pupils had to convey the meaning of the text on their own without the help of questions using the learned lexical and grammatical material.

At the middle level of education the communication between the pupil and the teacher was solely in FL. At first the conversational topics were based on the text about everyday life, which were later supplemented with information from other spheres; text were rendered in a modified form, for example, the pupils were retelling texts from the third person singular. If the student replied too closely following the text, the teacher would use follow-up questions to make him/her to digress from the text and render the fragment in some other form or show his/her own opinion using the factual material learned before¹⁵.

¹⁴ *Plany Naukowe...*, p. 102.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

At the primary level pupils were supposed to learn by heart excerpts of text (8-10 lines) word for word or with some minor changes. Changes were allowed as long as the pupil made them based on previously learned vocabulary. At the middle level pupils were to learn fragments of poetry or prose by heart. While their reciting the teacher had to pay attention to pronunciation, emphases on more important thoughts or expressions. The descriptions of paintings, sceneries, landscapes, ancient statues, pantheon, scenes from German legends and myths, exterior and interior of medieval castle etc. were the subject of the conversation at the higher level of education.

So, taking into account all of the found data on teaching speaking, we can conclude that it was carried out at all stages of FL learning. Conversation topics reflected real situation in the social context. An important condition while speaking was using correct pronunciation and lexical and grammatical material given within the framework of a particular topic. It was also recommended to teach speaking on the basis of literary works and others texts read by pupils.

The methodologist of that time, S. Kaniuk in his book "Pytanniie i vidpovid" ("The Question and the Answer") emphasized that the most successful form of teaching speaking is 'a question and an answer'. Though, before asking a question, the teacher had to prepared it well, preferably in written form. The author considered the question to be an unfinished sentence with a stimulus to answer, giving certain information to form a sentence, i.e. the answer is an addition to the sentence¹⁶. S. Kaniuk believed that questions are very useful at the primary level of education as they help to develop the pupils' thinking. He said that it was possible to ask questions to each member of the sentence with a relevant (logical) stress. The purpose of the question was to teach students to think, to formulate responses independently. All questions were divided into the following types: *disjunctive* (such question has a comparison within itself out of which one has to choose the negative answer) *complementary* (the answer to which the student has to supplement with the information from the sentence), this group also included *definitional* (explaining a certain concept), but it was desirable to use such questions at the higher level; *affirmative/qualitative* (they require a short "yes" or "no" answer), the author advised not to use those questions because they do not develop individual speaking abilities; *indirect/suggestive* (help to find a logical connection between the question and the subject of study), this type is used if a pupil does not understand the main questions, when he/she does not know what it is about; the teachers should not ask questions or leading questions, the answers to which pupils do not know; *examination questions* (used at the examinations to obtain information about the level of learning of studied material, such questions

¹⁶ С. Канюк, *Питання і відповідь* [The Question and the Answer], in "Bukowiner Schule. Zeitschrift für das Volksschulwesen", Czernowitz, 1908, 4 Heft, V. Jahrgang, S. 220.

are not related to each other).

When posing the questions, the teacher paid attention to the following rules: each question has be addressed to the whole class, one should take a break to think of the possible answer, then the teacher asks one of the students to answer; the complicated questions are given to the more gifted students, the easier ones – to those who are less clever; the students were questioned on a random basis.

Questions were also detailed concerning the following aspects a) the content (sentences, text), b) the form (grammatical form) c) the object of studying; d) the course of studying e) the development of the pupil: *detailed concerning the content* (implies the presence of an interrogative word); *detailed concerning the form* (aimed at clarification of the correct use of grammatical material), should be short and clear, consider the rules of articulation (accentuation), *corresponding to the object of study* (does not contain any insignificant details), *corresponding to the course of study* (linked, i.e. one question entails the other one); *corresponding to the development of the pupil* (i.e. of moderate difficulty, because easy questions make classes boring and too difficult ones deprive pupils' of the chance to answer)¹⁷.

Detailed question content development makes it possible to assert that they stimulated the interest of students, helped the teacher to control the process of learning and contributed to the development of receptive (grammar) skills and reproductive skills (speaking and writing).

Teaching speaking also used learning the individual sentences, dialogues, entire conversational situations, that corresponded to the texts in the textbooks, by heart. Texts, which pupils learned by heart, were read in class in advance by the teacher so that pupils could imitate the correct pronunciation.

Teaching speaking took place on the basis of reproduction, which was based on imitation, which eventually had to transform into a relaxed conversation. Speech samples that were the subject of rendering were previously worked up: new vocabulary and grammar were explained; questions to the content were asked and answered in class. Making up dialogues and staging texts with learning the part by heart and discussing of the main characters played a significant role in the development of speaking skills.

Thus, teaching speaking in Galicia and Bukovina in the studied period occurred at the primary level based on the adapted texts, which reflected everyday language, which is typical for the direct method, and at the middle and the higher level based on *the passages from literature, information on history, art etc., which was not supported by the reformers*. The peculiarity of the direct method implementation in teaching speaking was also the *interaction of thought and speech*, which was manifested in the rendering of the content of a text in a modified form and reproduction of the text fragment using the actual material that was

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 221–222.

studied before. This type of exercise objected the principles of the proponents of the direct method that activity feelings rather than thinking, intuition, reason play the primary role in speaking, which led to the separation of language from thought, to the exaggeration of the role of mechanical memory and any kind of associations, to identification of the processes of language acquisition by children and adults.

L'ARMEMENT CHARBONNIER MARCESCHE (1898-1939)¹

THE COAL SHIPOWNER MARCESCHE (1898-1939)

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Rezumat: Situat în Bretagne, în nord-vestul Franței, Lorient este recunoscut ca fiind un port de mărime medie. Și totuși, ce explică extraordinara sa dezvoltare de la finele secolului al XIX-lea într-un port industrial și într-un șantier naval specializat în construirea de vase de transport cărbune? Lorient era al șaptesprezecelea port prin traficul său de mărfuri, poziția deținută fiind excelentă, ținând cont de faptul că nu avea un hinterland dezvoltat. Beneficiile sale au venit de pe urma dezvoltării bazinelor carbonifere franceze – singura sa posibilitate de dezvoltare, fapt bine cunoscut de industriașul Émile Marcésche.

Émile Marcésche era un om de tip nou. Originar din Anjou, orfan de tată, el provenea dintr-o familie de podgoreni. A făcut studii în școli laice și a devenit un excelent profesor de școală medie din Angers. Deci, un intelectual. Succesul său s-a datorat legăturilor pe care le avea în mediile notabilităților din Lorient. Dar în ce context s-au creat aceste legături? Prin căsătoria sa, Émile Marcésche a intrat în elita bretonă – foarte determinată politic, catolică și monarhistă. El s-a adaptat în acest mediu nebulos, aristocratic și conservator. Cheia succesului său a fost reprezentată de relațiile de rudenie din lumea industriașilor, în calitatea sa de șef al unuia din cele mai mari grupuri industriale din sudul regiunii Bretagne, cu diferite factorii în porturile bretone, între Audierne și Quiberon, dar și în Portugalia, Maroc și Algeria. Manufacturile din aceste factorii i-au furnizat lui Marcésche capitalurile necesare pentru constituirea unui important parc de vase maritime.

Émile Marcésche a fost un om pragmatic, dar în același timp dotat cu o bună intuiție. El a urmărit să investească și în crearea unei filiale în Cardiff, încredințată lui Marcel Ragody. Acesta i-a dat o mare anvergură depășind simplele servicii ale firmei Marcésche. Cu factorii și în alte porturi din Țara Galilor, Marcésche a devenit primul grup francez de export cărbune în porturi străine sau intermediind între porturile franceze și minele și întreprinderile miniere galeze.

Abstract: In France, Lorient, city located in Brittany, is representative of the medium-sized ports. But how to explain the creation of an industrial and coal shipyard group in the last years of the 19th century in the port of Lorient? It is definitely not the port's conjecture which was then buoyant. Ranked seventeenth by its traffic, its rating is finally excellent, for Lorient, which was still suffering from its past and the absence of hinterland, benefited from a

¹ Pascal Boisson, *Émile Marcésche, capitaine d'industrie à Lorient*, Collection *Mémoire et Histoire*, Ville de Lorient, 2012, 229 p. Ce livre fait suite à une thèse de doctorat en Histoire consacrée à Émile Marcésche: Pascal Boisson, *Émile Marcésche (1868-1939), une trajectoire entrepreneuriale*, Université de Bretagne Sud, 2010, 828 p.

self-centered development around coal, the only path of sustainable growth, which the manufacturer Emile Marcesche had perfectly understood.

Emile Marcesche is a new man. From Anjou, he is fatherless and comes from a wine-growers family and is a pure product of the non-religious school of which he manages to be a brilliant superior primary school teacher in Angers. In short, an intellectual. His success is linked to his settling down in the maze of the Lorient notables. But what are the conditions of this settling down? Marcesche, through his marriage, is introduced to a Lorient elite, very marked politically speaking, royalist and catholic. He is thrown into this background, a very conservative and reactionary politic melting-pot. But one of the keys to understand his path, is that, thanks to his in-laws' network, he has an easy passage into the world of preserve manufactures, at the head of one of the biggest preserve industrial groups in South Brittany, with different sites in numerous Breton ports, from Audierne to Quiberon, but also in Portugal, Morocco and Algeria. Those manufacturers will supply Marcesche with the necessary capitals, notably to constitute an important steamer ships fitting out.

Marcesche appears like a very pragmatic man, but with intuition. He maximizes his fitting out function by investing in the setting up of a subsidiary in Cardiff, which he entrusts with Marcel Ragody, to give it a scale that exceeds the simple service to the firm Marcesche.

With its offices in the other Welsh ports, it becomes one of the first houses concerning coal export towards the French and even foreign ports and the essential go-between of numerous mine-posts suppliers with Welsh firms.

Résumé: *En France, Lorient, ville située en Bretagne, est représentative des ports moyens. Mais comment expliquer la création d'un groupe industriel et d'armement charbonnier dans les dernières années du XIX^e siècle dans le port de Lorient ? Ce n'est pas la conjoncture portuaire qui était alors porteuse. Dix-septième port de commerce par son trafic, son classement est finalement excellent, car Lorient souffrant toujours de son passé et de l'absence d'arrière-pays (hinterland), a bénéficié d'un développement autocentré autour du charbon, seule voie de croissance que l'industriel Émile Marcesche avait parfaitement compris.*

Émile Marcesche est un homme neuf, angevin, orphelin de père, issue d'une famille viticole et pur produit de l'école laïque dont il devient un brillant professeur d'école primaire supérieure à Angers. Bref, un intellectuel. Sa réussite est liée à son ancrage dans la nébuleuse des notables lorientais. Mais quelles sont les conditions de cet ancrage ? Marcesche, par son mariage, est introduit dans une élite lorientaise, très marquée politiquement, royaliste et catholique. Il est précipité dans ce milieu, creuset politique très conservateur et réactionnaire. Mais l'une des clefs pour comprendre sa trajectoire, c'est qu'avec le réseau de sa belle-famille, il entre de plein pied dans le monde d'usiniérs de la conserve à la tête d'un des plus gros groupes industriels de conserveries de Bretagne Sud, avec des implantations dans de nombreux ports bretons d'Audierne à Quiberon, mais aussi au Portugal, au Maroc et en Algérie. Ces usiniérs fourniront les capitaux nécessaires à Marcesche, notamment pour se constituer un important armement de steamer ship.

Marcesche apparaît comme un grand pragmatique, mais qui a de l'intuition. Il optimise sa fonction d'armement en investissant dans l'implantation d'une filiale à Cardiff qu'il confie à Marcel Ragody pour lui donner une envergure qui dépasse le simple service à l'entreprise Marcesche. Avec ses bureaux dans les autres ports gallois, elle devient une des premières Maisons exportatrices de charbon vers les ports français, et même étrangers et l'intermédiaire obligé de nombreux fournisseurs de poteaux de mine aux entreprises galloises.

Keywords: *shipowner, industrialist, coal, steamer ship, maritime history, coastal navigation, chamber of commerce, industrial port.*

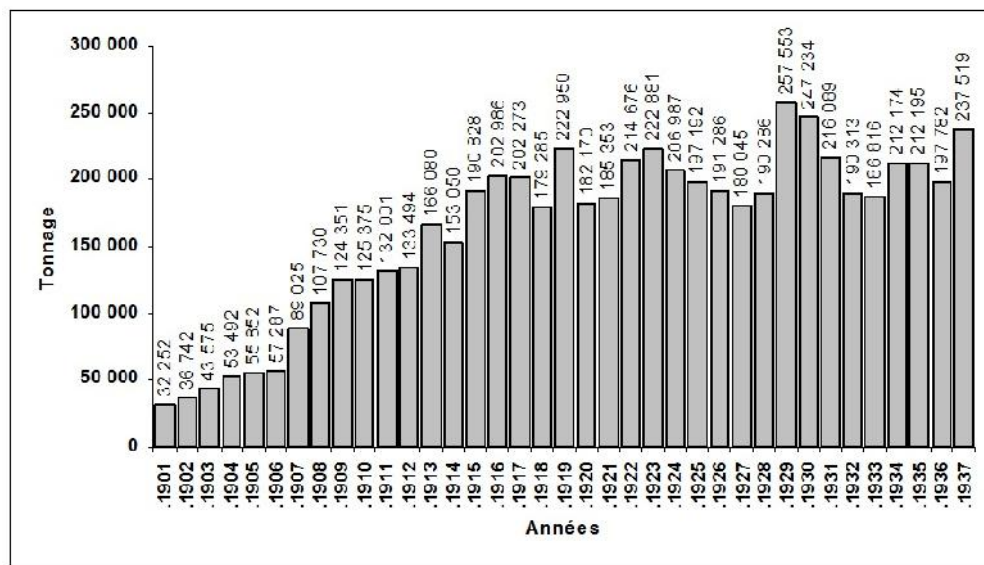
Introduction

Tout au long du XIX^e siècle, à Lorient, c'est le port militaire qui domine, comme à Rochefort. Lorient, reste ainsi adossé à son port de guerre. Lorsque Émile Marcesche arrive à Lorient pour la première fois en 1896, le mouvement commercial du port est faible, stationnaire, ou même en déclin. En effet, le port de commerce végète. Son point faible est de servir à la fois pour les besoins du commerce, de la pêche, et de la Marine. S'agissant du commerce extérieur, ce n'est pas Lorient, mais Hennebont qui occupe le premier rang. Pourquoi une telle situation ? Plusieurs raisons à cela. D'une part, les installations techniques du vieux port de commerce construit sous le règne de Napoléon III sont insuffisantes. D'autre part, Lorient a l'impossibilité d'accroître ses exportations ou ses importations en raison des tarifs de la *Compagnie d'Orléans* dont le niveau est tel que les négociants de Saint-Nazaire concurrencent avec avantage ceux de Lorient, aux portes même de leur ville. Enfin, le chalutage à vapeur est inexistant ; l'industrie de la pêche ne peut se transformer et se développer. En conclusion, le port de Lorient est un outil déficient ; l'activité est médiocre ; l'articulation avec l'*hinterland* -l'arrière-pays- est un gros point faible ; en somme, de par cette configuration portuaire, les conditions du développement ne sont guère favorables.



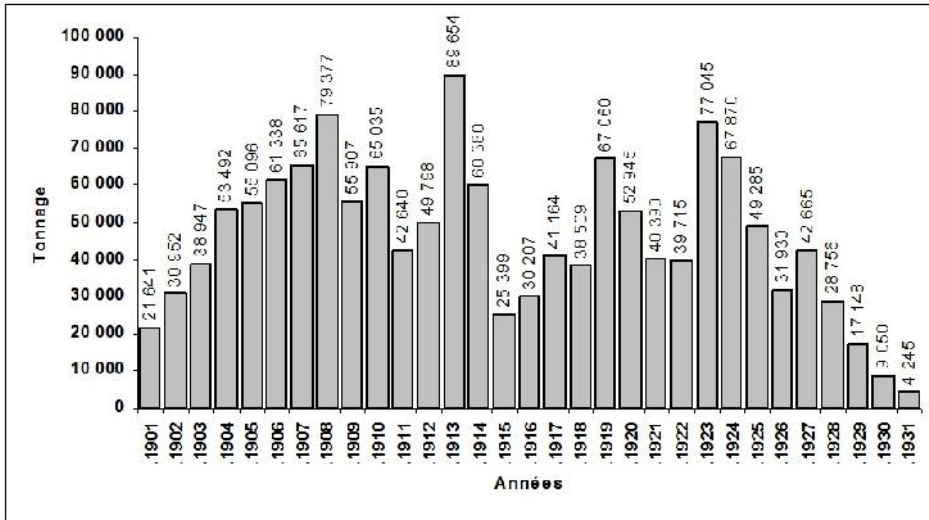
Émile Marcesche vers 1896
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)

Mais au tournant des années 1900, la situation lorientaise change. Le tissu industriel du port se modifie et se diversifie. Cette industrialisation de Lorient au centre de son espace portuaire se concrétise au lendemain de la Première Guerre mondiale, avec le concours de l'Etat, la Chambre de commerce, les élites politiques locales, et le dynamisme de certains négociants, entrepreneurs, industriels, et armateurs, tels Émile Marcesche. À la fin du XIX^e siècle, il est celui qui provoque le décollage économique du port de commerce, grâce à ses usines de charbons et au cabotage maritime qu'il organise ; il met en place un trafic bois-charbons entre Lorient et le Pays de Galles (Première partie). Cet important mouvement commercial donne naissance à un renouveau du port de commerce à partir de 1901-1904. Ce dynamisme commercial remarquable jusqu'en 1930, est le résultat d'initiatives entrepreneuriales souvent audacieuses impulsées par Émile Marcesche véritable capitaine d'industrie au destin peu commun (Deuxième partie).



Le trafic charbonnier du port de Lorient²

² Archives Départementales du Morbihan (AD56) : importations de charbon de 1901 à 1937.



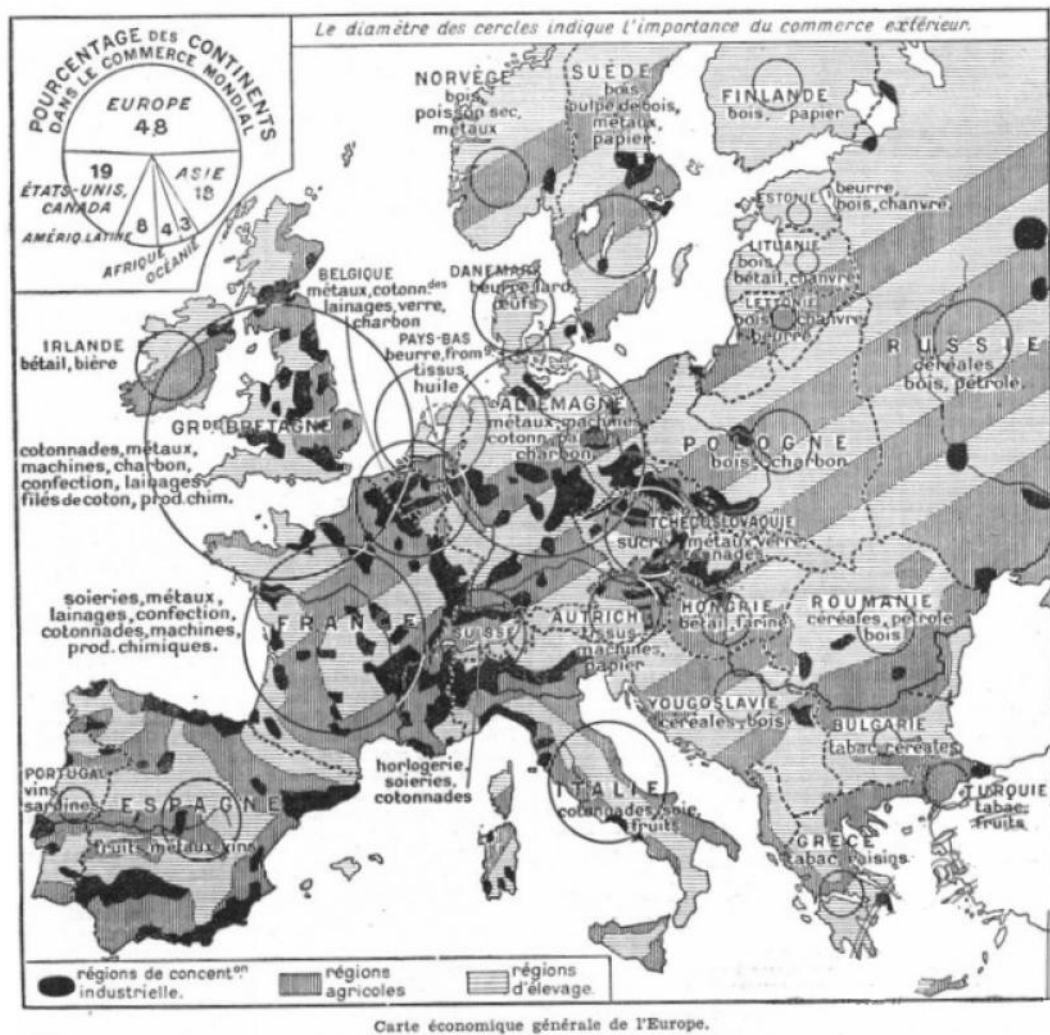
Un fret de retour pour Lorient : les poteaux de mine³

PREMIERE PARTIE – DE LORIENT A CARDIFF

I - La société de charbonnages *Marcesche* : du trafic à l'implantation au Pays de Galles

En janvier 1898, Marcesche s'associe avec Achille Hippolite Jotté-Latouche, négociant dans le charbon. Leur activité est très modeste. En 1901, Alexandre Bachelier, ami d'enfance d'Émile Marcesche, rejoint, à la demande de ce dernier, l'entreprise. Il s'occupe plus particulièrement de la négociation commerciale pour le bois, et de l'exportation des poteaux de mines à destination du Pays de Galles, activité qui prend de plus en plus d'importance. Jusqu'en 1922, l'entreprise est implantée dans le centre ville, derrière le quai sud du bassin à flot. À partir de 1923, elle se déplace sur le nouveau site portuaire de Kergroise, éloigné du centre ville et où un quai en eau profonde est opérationnel depuis 1920. En 1931, la société en nom collectif se transforme en société anonyme. L'année suivante, elle s'associe à la puissante société strasbourgeoise *Rhin et Rhône*. Le marché local charbonnier est contrôlé à 50% par Marcesche, ses deux concurrents les plus sérieux, les sociétés *Le Brise* et *Armoricaïne de charbonnages*, se partageant avec de petits distributeurs le reste de la clientèle. L'entreprise est l'une des plus modernes du littoral.

³ AD56 : exportations de poteaux de mine de 1901 à 1937.

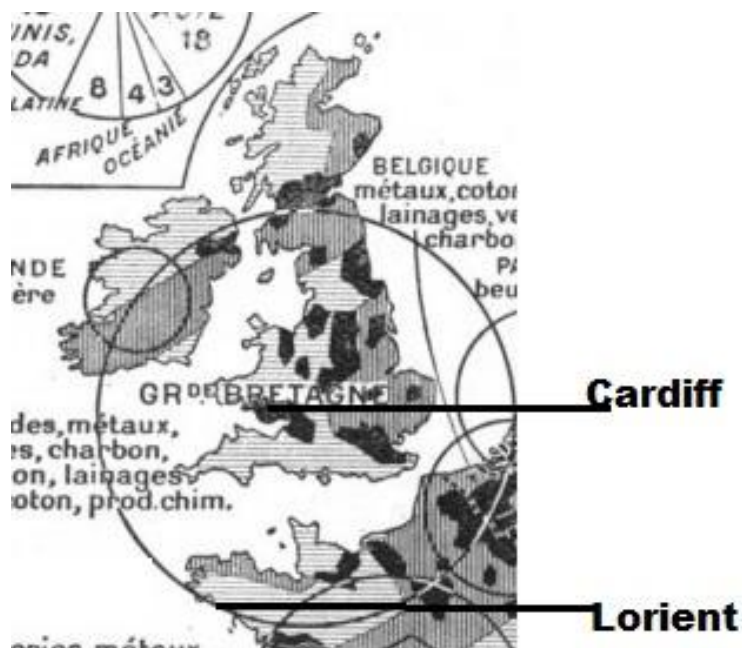


L'économie européenne en 1930⁴

En 1904, Emile Marcesche se présente comme négociant; après 1913, c'est un industriel. Avec la révolution industrielle, celle des pondéreux, le temps des négociants est révolu.⁵

⁴ Étienne Clémentel, *Carte économique générale de l'Europe, Le monde économique*, Larousse, 1930.

⁵ AD56 : en-têtes des courriers de la société *Marcesche*, en 1904 et dès 1914.



CHARBONS ANGLAIS
de toutes provenances
CARDIFF, NEWPORT, NEWCASTLE
ANTHRACITE, CHARBON A GAZ
Charbons de Forges

COKE
Bois de Chauffage
POTEAUX DE MINES

FERS-ACIERS-TÔLES
ARDOISES D'ANGERS

BOIS du NORD
BOIS DU PAYS

SCIERIE MECANIQUE

FABRIQUE DE BRIQUETTES DE HOUILLE
Adresse Télégraphique: MARCESCHE-LORIENT

E. Marcesche & Co.
NÉGOCIANTS-ARMATEURS

Lorient, le
21 Rue Carnot

1er Décembre 1904





Marcesche acquiert une dimension internationale en s'implantant au Royaume-Uni. Il comprend rapidement la nécessité de posséder dans le grand centre qu'est Cardiff, sa propre succursale, dont la mission serait d'une part d'approvisionner la Maison de Lorient en charbon, et d'autre part de revendre aux mines anglaises les poteaux exportés de Bretagne. Marcesche cherche aussi à se passer des services de son agent maritime anglais à qui il a recours, la Maison *Howe*, de Newport. Ainsi est créée à Cardiff, en 1913, une nouvelle société, *É. Marcesche & Co*. La direction en est confiée à un Français, Marcel Ragody.

Marcel Ragody est né à Bordeaux en 1886 ; il se rend en Angleterre à l'âge de dix-sept ans dans le but d'apprendre l'anglais. Son père, capitaine au long cours, lui procure une situation dans la Maison *Howe*, laquelle est l'agent commercial pour la Maison *Marcesche* de Lorient et c'est Ragody qui gère les affaires de la société lorientaise. Au cours de l'année 1913, Emile se rend souvent à Newport ; c'est ainsi qu'il fait la connaissance de Ragody et prend la décision d'ouvrir son propre bureau au lieu de passer par un agent ; la société, *É. Marcesche & Co* est alors créée à Cardiff. Ragody quitte alors la société *Howe* et Marcesche le nomme directeur de sa succursale. Ragody donne à *Marcesche & Co* un large développement et acquiert en Angleterre une solide position morale. En 1934, Ragody est nommé *President of the Bristol Channel Pitwood Importers Association*. Lui, Français, représente les intérêts britanniques auprès de ses compatriotes exportateurs de poteaux de mines ; c'est donc que les Anglais ont confiance en lui. Par la suite, il est nommé conseiller du commerce extérieur à Londres. C'est un homme qui informe en permanence et méticuleusement Alexandre Bachelier sur les conditions économiques en Angleterre. C'est un collaborateur de premier ordre sur lequel Émile Marcesche peut compter ; Il

voit bien juste Ragody dit-il de lui dans un courrier de mai 1930.



Marcel Ragody vers 1930
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)

Rapidement, la succursale de Cardiff prend un considérable essor, ralenti par la guerre de 1914-1918. Après ce conflit, elle prend la forme d'un bureau autonome d'exportation, d'importation et de courtage maritime. En dépit des longues grèves minières de 1921 et 1926, ce bureau devient une des Maisons les plus actives de la place, avec des sous-agences à Swansea, Port-Talbot et Newport.

II - L'armement *Marcesche*

La constitution de la flotte et son importance

Le commerce du charbon lié à Lorient à celui des poteaux, a conduit *Marcesche*, pour raisons économiques, à se faire armateur. Sa société cumule ainsi les fonctions d'armateur, à celles d'importateur de charbons et d'exportateur de poteaux. Elle peut ainsi mieux maîtriser ses affrètements, sans contrainte d'un contrat lorsque les prix sont bas. L'entreprise qui possède sa propre flotte, peut alors exporter des poteaux uniquement à des prix intéressants.

En 1898, la société possède deux navires : le *Louis-Marie*, une goélette, et un dundee, le *Saint-Michel*. En 1901, les premiers bénéfices et un emprunt à une amie de la famille *Marcesche* permettent de faire l'acquisition du voilier *Eugénie*. Ce vieux trois mâts construit à Saint-Vaast permet de doubler les capacités de transport de 300 à 600 tonnes. En 1902, la Maison *Marcesche et Cie* achète un petit steamer de 650 tonnes, l'*Arvor*, construit en Ecosse. Calant à peu près trois mètres, il est capable d'entrer dans le bassin à flot à toute marée. Ce bateau permet à l'entreprise de développer considérablement ses affaires. En 1909, la société fait construire à Nantes par les *Ateliers et Chantiers de la Loire*, un navire à vapeur de 961 tonneaux, l'*Arvor*

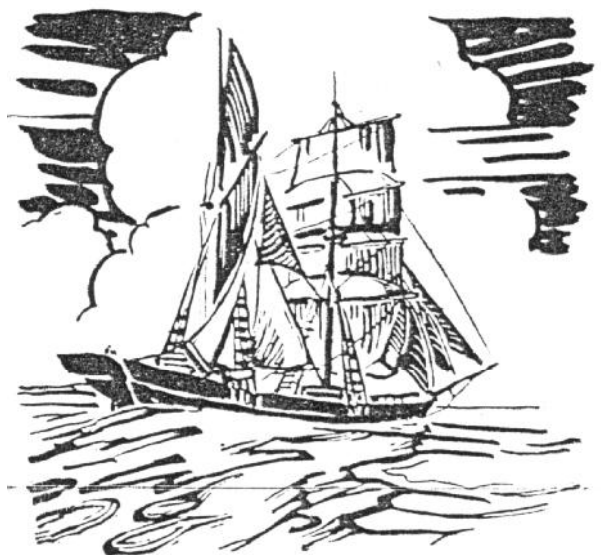
II (le premier *Arvor* est vendu sous le nom d'*Armorik* en 1912). En 1911, un autre navire identique est commandé aux mêmes chantiers, l'*Arez*, de 976 tonnes, et en 1914 est lancé l'*Irma* de 844 tonnes. La guerre sous-marine de 1914-1918, entraîne la perte de plusieurs navires : l'*Arvor*, torpillé et coulé le 21 juillet 1918 ; l'*Irma*, et le *Bargany*, coulés sous pavillon anglais. Ils sont remplacés par deux vapeurs de 740 cv, le *Bolivia* -construit aux Pays-Bas en 1906- et le *Tourneur*, -construit à Saint-Nazaire en 1919- jaugeant respectivement 817 et 1113 tonnes. Malgré tout, l'activité de l'entreprise demeure intense. En 1922, la société fait l'acquisition d'un vapeur beaucoup plus important, le *Mousse-le-Moyec* -construit à Lorient- de 2038 tonnes. Les deux vapeurs *Arez* et *Mousse-le-Moyec* assurent la quasi totalité des transports de l'entreprise avec Cardiff. Leur commandement est assuré successivement par les capitaines Rio, Noblanc, et Eugène Gousset. Les navires de l'entreprise assurent même le transport des charbons de ses propres concurrents, très modestes il est vrai, jusqu'au port de Lorient ; ainsi en 1936, le *Mousse-le-Moyec* importe du charbon pour les négociants Chollet et Josso de Lorient, et Lagadec d'Arzon. Le *Tourneur* est vendu au Canada en décembre 1922, le *Bolivia* à Cuba en avril 1924. Le 11 mai 1932, l'*Arez*, venant de Bristol, touche une roche à un mille au Nord de Ouessant, et coule avec ses 1200 tonnes de charbon chargées au port de Barry. Tout l'équipage composé de seize hommes est sauvé. En fin de compte, le navire est récupéré. L'armement *Marcesche*, affilié à l'organisme du sauvetage maritime, attribue une récompense au patron pêcheur Louis Masson qui a recueilli les naufragés.

* * *

Par ailleurs, outre les navires à vapeur, une flottille composée de trois chalands -*Madeleine-Emilie*, *Glaneuse*, *Marguerite*-, cinq gabarres -*Jeannette*, *Yvonne*, *Jeanne d'Arc*, *Eugène et Marie*, *Elina*-, 3 chaloupes -*Cambronne*, *Faouëdic*, *Brenn*-, deux goélettes -*Etoile Polaire*, *Galantry*- et un Sloop -*Kernével*- effectuent les transports sur les canaux du Blavet et de Nantes à Brest.

* * *

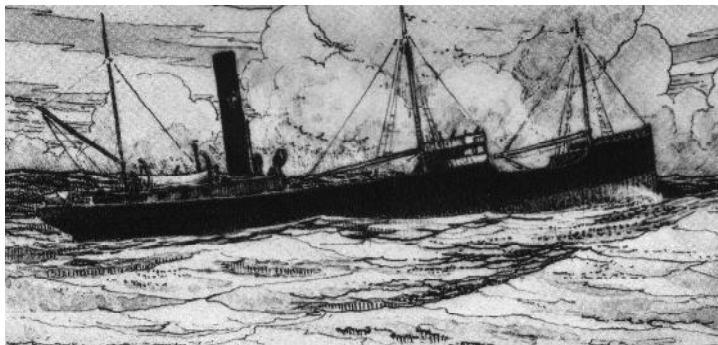
Au total, vingt-et-un navires sont exploités de façon non simultanée entre 1902 et 1939, dont sept vapeurs représentant 7286 tonnes de jauge brute. De 1902 à 1911, la flotte des seuls vapeurs représente 2472 tonnes -*Armorik*, *Arvor*, *Arez* ; en 1914, elle en atteint 2782 -*Arvor*, *Arez*, *Irma* ; en 1922, 4946 -*Arez*, *Bolivia*, *Tourneur*, *Mousse-le-Moyec*-, et après 1924, elle retombe à 3015 -*Arez*, *Mousse-le-Moyec*-. L'armement *Marcesche* est le plus puissant du port de Lorient.



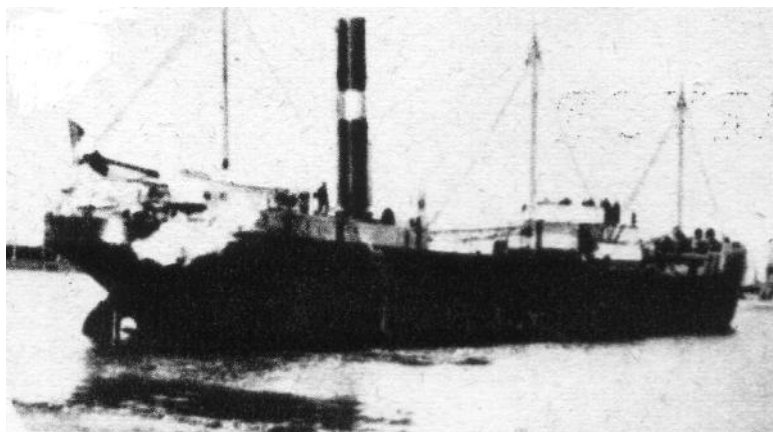
La goélette *Louis-Marie*
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)



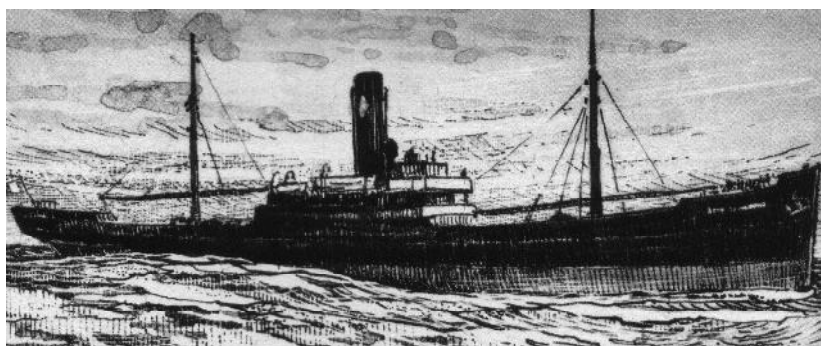
Le Steamer Ship *Arvor* II dans l'avant-port du bassin à flot
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)



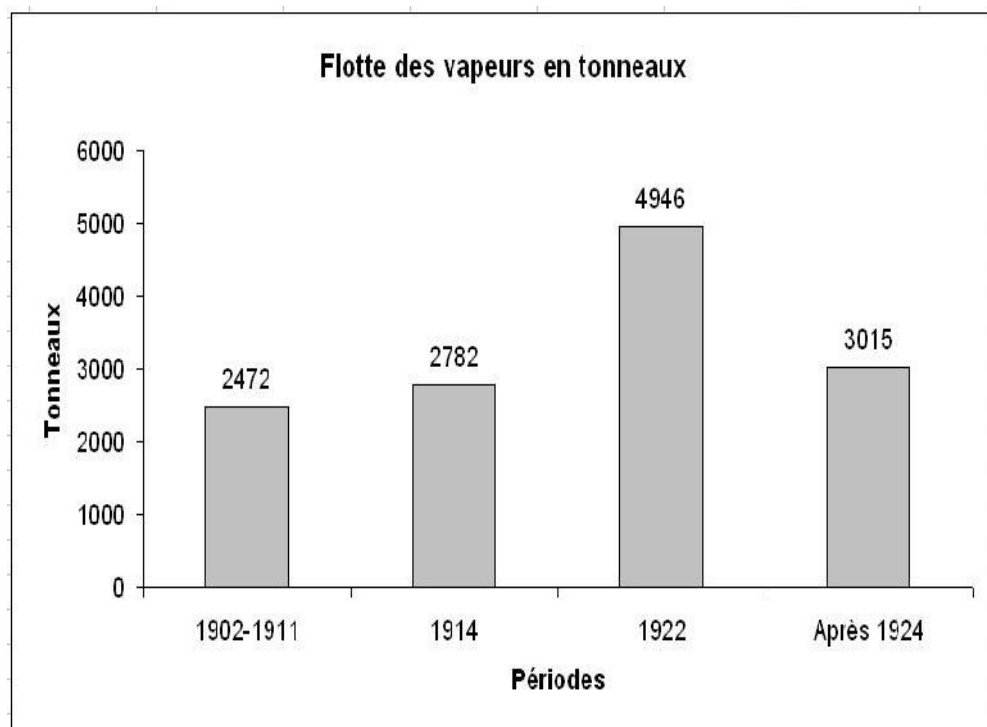
Le Steamer Ship *Arez*
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)



Le Steamer Ship *Irma*
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)



Le Steamer Ship *Mousse-le-Moyec* de la série des *Marie-Louise*
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)



Après 1924, la flotte des Steamer Ship de la société *Marcésche* ne dépasse pas les 3015 tonneaux de jauge brute⁶.

Fret et rayon d'action

Les cargos de l'armement *Marcésche* prennent livraison des cargaisons de charbons dans les ports de Cardiff, Port Talbot, Swansea, Newport, et Barry, grand concurrent de Cardiff. De Cardiff, les navires vont livrer du charbon à Arcachon. L'entreprise *Marcésche & Co* exporte ainsi charbons et anthracites gallois de tous les ports du canal de Bristol, vers Lorient, la Bretagne, et les autres ports français. Elle assure aussi la fonction d'agent d'une importante société d'Alger, spécialisée dans la fabrication des briquettes -combustible préféré des chalutiers à vapeur- de la marque *Lion*. Par ailleurs, des opérations commerciales sont réalisées avec l'Italie. En 1911, le voilier *Eugénie* effectue des départs de Lorient à destination d'Oran avec des futs vides. Ceux-ci sont destinés à être rempli de vin. Les futs sont ensuite acheminés et livrés à l'Espagne et au Portugal. Au cours d'une traversée, l'*Eugénie* coule en février 1911, le long des côtes portugaises.

⁶ Service Historique de la Marine de Lorient : la flotte des Steamer Ship *Marcésche* de 1902 à 1939.

* * *

Quel est le fret de retour de l'armement *Marcesche* ? À destination du Pays de Galles, Marcesche exporte des poteaux de mines -pins maritimes- qui sont employés à étayer et soutenir les galeries dans les mines. Si l'Angleterre est pauvre en bois, en revanche, l'*hinterland* lorientais dispose de ressources considérables. En 1926, le port de commerce de Lorient arrive en tête pour l'exportation bretonne de poteaux avec 50000 tonnes. Lorsque les navires *Marcesche* livrent du charbon à Arcachon, ils reviennent avec des poteaux de mines; Arcachon, sur tout son littoral, possède de nombreuses forêts de pin.

DEUXIEME PARTIE – ÉMILE MARCESCHE, CAPITAINE D'INDUSTRIE ET LIBERAL SOCIAL

I – Un destin lorientais

Une jeunesse angevine

Émile Charles Marcesche est né en Anjou dans le département du Maine-et-Loire, le 7 mai 1868, dans le petit village de Lézigné proche de Durtal. Sa famille est d'origine modeste. Le père, Louis-Auguste, est menuisier. Pour améliorer le quotidien, il devient vigneron et produit un vin blanc légèrement pétillant. Il meurt en 1871 à 43 ans. Émile n'a que trois ans. La mère, Adèle Alleaume, couturière, élève donc seule ses enfants, Émile, mais aussi les aînés Louis et Clarisse. En mars 1881, Marcesche quitte le domicile familial et s'installe à Saumur. Il obtient son certificat d'études primaires à 13 ans, en juin 1881. Il est reçu au brevet en juillet 1884, à l'âge de seize ans. En août 1886, à dix-huit ans, il est instituteur stagiaire, après avoir suivi une formation à l'École Normale d'instituteurs d'Angers. Puis, le Rectorat de Rennes le nomme professeur de sciences physiques et naturelles dans une l'école primaire supérieure d'Angers. Il y rencontre Alexandre Bachelier, qui devient son grand ami.

L'arrivée à Lorient

En 1895, Émile Marcesche se rend à Lorient pour visiter son oncle paternel François Marcesche. Célibataire, cet oncle compte beaucoup dans la vie d'Émile, orphelin de père. Ancien pensionnaire du petit séminaire de Combrée en Segré, François a suivi entre autres, une année de rhétorique en 1843-1844. Il s'installe à Lorient puis devient secrétaire général de la mairie. François présente à son neveu Émile, ses amis, dont deux femmes, Céleste L'Hévéder et Marie-Louise Chamaillard. Celles-ci sont sœurs, toutes deux veuves, aux idées politiques monarchistes légitimistes et catholiques très prononcées. Si Émile Marcesche n'a jamais adhéré à aucun parti politique, en revanche, il s'est toujours méfié de toute forme de socialisme et c'est auprès de son oncle qu'il a tiré cet enseignement. Très vite, Émile est apprécié de Céleste L'Hévéder et de Marie-Louise Chamaillard et c'est réciproque. Il découvre, notamment avec Céleste, des ouvrages sur la doctrine sociale de l'Église. Il

rencontre aussi celle qui devient son épouse, Louisette Chamaillard, vingt-deux ans. Le 11 août 1896, ils s'épousent. Alliance étonnante entre ce jeune professeur formé par et pour l'école laïque de Jules Ferry, et cette petite bourgeoise d'un milieu réactionnaire. Par ce mariage, Émile se trouve alors lié à des beaux-parents qui ont reçu dans leur imprimerie les royalistes de Lorient et de la région.



Émile Marcesche, jeune professeur à Angers
(Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie)

Un efficace réseau familial

À l'aide de son oncle François, de la caution de Marie-Louise Chamaillard, et des relations de Céleste L'Hévéder, Marcesche réussit à s'associer à des notables lorientais : les frères Ouizille, et Alphonse Sévène. Les Ouizille sont des hommes expérimentés dans le monde des affaires, davantage que dans le domaine purement politique. Auguste a présidé cinq ans la Chambre de commerce de Lorient. Lui et son frère Georges dirigent les Établissements *F. Delory*, une grande société de conserverie qui emploie de nombreux personnels tant en Bretagne qu'à l'étranger. Sévène est une importante figure politique. Ces trois hommes sont importants, influents, d'envergure, et reconnus comme tels par la population lorientaise, toutes tendances politiques confondues. Ils sont continuellement aux côtés de Marcesche dans ses activités industrielles.

II – La soif d'entreprendre

En 1904, fort du succès de son entreprise de charbonnages, Marcesche se lance dans l'activité du chalutage à vapeur. Puis, dès décembre 1917, il a d'autres ambitions et diversifie ses activités. Il se consacre en effet à deux projets : la construction d'une cidrerie industrielle, puis l'exploitation d'une carrière de kaolins. Il va axer ses efforts

sur le développement de son groupe, alors que le dossier du port de pêche de Keroman avance rapidement. En 1922, il fonde la *Banque Populaire Morbihannaise*. En 1923 et 1924, il entreprend une recherche d'hydrocarbures à Rieux, commune proche de la Vilaine. En 1926, il crée un journal, *Le Commerçant Morbihannais*.

La Compagnie Lorientaise de Chalutage à vapeur (C.L.C)

Marcésche peut développer les activités de sa société de charbonnages en se lançant dans le chalutage à vapeur. En 1911, il fusionne sa société de pêche née en 1904, avec d'autres armements ; tous voient l'intérêt qu'il y a à se regrouper. Ainsi se forme la C.L.C., dont Marcésche préside le conseil d'administration. La flotte de chalutiers devient la plus puissante du port. Rapidement, la société anonyme prospère grâce à des managers compétents et à une conjoncture économique favorable. Si sa filiale de traitement des déchets du poisson est un échec, en revanche, sa conserverie lui assure une dimension économique et sociale très importante à Lorient. Par ailleurs, la Compagnie assure des débouchés à d'autres entreprises dans les secteurs de l'engrais, du bois (exploitations des pineraies de Lanvaux ; scieries lorientaises), des équipements pour chalutiers.

* * *

Cependant, à partir de 1932, la Compagnie rencontre des difficultés économiques ; son capital social est en constante diminution ; les actionnaires n'accordent plus leur confiance dans une activité de moins en moins rentable voir déficitaire ; c'est la propre société de charbonnages *Marcésche* qui doit intervenir afin d'apporter des capitaux frais. La flotte des chalutiers se déprécie d'années en années. En 1937, alors que l'armement français à la pêche traverse depuis quelques années une grave crise, la C.L.C. décide de sa dissolution. La disparition de cette société du port de Keroman symbolise la faillite d'un système pêche, dont l'ambition était de tout contrôler, de la capture du poisson jusqu'à son expédition ; elle indique aussi que les autres armements sont très fragiles. Mais l'activité charbon reste rentable ; c'est le pilier du groupe *Marcésche* qui, depuis 1917, se diversifie dans le secteur de la chimie.

L'agro-alimentaire : la Grande Cidrerie de Lorient

Émile Marcésche fonde sa cidrerie le 13 décembre 1917. C'est une société anonyme dont les principaux actionnaires sont des industriels lorientais (en particulier les Ouizille), nantais (groupe *Saupiquet*), et parisiens. La cidrerie génère très vite un développement de la production de pommes à cidre et offre aux paysans de la région lorientaise, d'une part, un débouché pour leurs pommes, et d'autre part des revenus constants et réguliers. C'est la plus importante cidrerie du Morbihan.

* * *

La cidrerie fabrique dans un premier temps du cidre de consommation de très bonne qualité et des eaux-de-vie. Elle produit aussi du cidre sans alcool. Au cours de

l'année 1919, le laboratoire de recherches de la cidrerie entreprend de longs et coûteux essais afin d'obtenir des pectines industrielles à partir des marcs de pommes. Ce sous-produit de la pomme ainsi valorisé, relève incontestablement d'une démarche d'industriel impulsée par Émile Marcesche dont la formation scientifique n'est pas étrangère à cette initiative. Après six années de recherches, l'usine met enfin au point les méthodes d'obtention de pectines. Le laboratoire performant de l'entreprise permet aussi de réaliser une importante découverte : ainsi, il met au point dès 1939, un produit devenu indispensable aux hôpitaux pour prévenir ou arrêter les hémorragies. Cette découverte de l'usine lorientaise est fondamentale, puisque dès le début de la guerre et ensuite pendant l'Occupation, le Ravitaillement général et le ministère de la Santé publique exigent le maintien de ses fabrications. En outre, la *Grande Cidrerie* a en préparation à cette même époque, un autre produit pectique donnant, à l'instar des fabrications étrangères, des résultats étonnants dans la guérison des diarrhées infantiles et adultes et dans la lutte contre plusieurs maladies microbiennes.

* * *

À force de ténacité dans ses travaux de recherches, équipée de machines très performantes, la *Grande Cidrerie* se place constamment sur la voie du progrès. Par ailleurs, des efforts constants, une longue expérience doublée de celle acquise au contact permanent et à la collaboration entretenue avec l'industrie américaine, maîtresse en la matière, permettent à la *Grande Cidrerie* de réussir pleinement.

L'industrie minière : les Kaolins d'Arvor

Le 2 décembre 1918, Marcesche établit les statuts de la société anonyme *Kaolins d'Arvor*. C'est surtout l'approvisionnement à l'industrie papetière qui est privilégié. En 1920, la société de Marcesche s'équipe d'une pelle à vapeur avec benne piocheuse d'un demi-mètre cube, achetée à Saint-Nazaire. Elle sert à la découverte et à l'exploitation du kaolin. En 1922-1923, une nouvelle usine est construite puis agrandie en 1929. À cette époque, l'usine acquiert une autre pelle qui fonctionne à l'aide d'un moteur à essence. Nouvelle évolution en 1933 : une autre usine est édifiée sur le site de Kergantic à Ploemeur. Elle est agrandie et améliorée jusqu'en 1939. Comme pour sa cidrerie, Marcesche cherche constamment à perfectionner et agrandir son usine de kaolin : acquisition de matériel d'extraction à la pointe du progrès, deux nouvelles usines ultra modernes construites, la première en 1922, la seconde en 1933 ; chacune d'entre-elles subit des transformations pour devenir de plus en plus performantes. Par ailleurs, la superficie de l'exploitation s'est accrue de 47 hectares depuis 1918. Le tonnage de kaolin fabriqué est en constante augmentation avec cependant une légère diminution en 1938. Marcesche adopte la même démarche qu'à la cidrerie ; il valorise le sous-produit du kaolin : le sable micacé. Son analyse reconnaît qu'il contient de la silice, de la soude et de la potasse ; il est parfois employé dans les verreries. Des bouteilles moulées sont fabriquées à Angers avec les sables micacés des *Kaolins d'Arvor*. En vingt ans, l'usine artisanale s'est transformée en complexe industriel. La société des *Kaolins d'Arvor* est avec sa concurrente, la plus importante de France.

III – L'engagement social d'Émile Marcesche

Agir en faveur du monde ouvrier

Responsable pendant près de quarante ans de plusieurs entreprises, de 1901 à 1936, la vie quotidienne d'Émile Marcesche côtoie celle du monde industriel et de son évolution. Les enseignements qu'il tire de son expérience personnelle et de ses pensées l'amènent à agir sur le monde du travail. Si dans un premier temps, face au monde ouvrier, il structure le patronat lorientais, Marcesche ne limite pas pour autant son activité aux seules questions commerciales ou industrielles ; en effet, les questions ouvrières sont très tôt l'objet de ses préoccupations. Il cherche constamment à améliorer la situation morale et matérielle de ses employés. Il ne se contente pas de suivre le progrès ; souvent il le devance. Ainsi, en janvier 1918, Marcesche crée la première Caisse d'allocations familiales de France, incontestablement sa plus grande réalisation dans le domaine social. Bien que nous ne sachions pas exactement à quel courant du catholicisme Marcesche se réfère lorsqu'il entreprend ces actions, nous pensons fortement que la doctrine sociale du pape Léon XIII de 1891, accompagne sa détermination à faire rentrer une dimension sociale au sein de toutes ses entreprises, mais sans ingérence syndicale.



La Journée Industrielle, novembre 1921⁷

Un industriel paternaliste

La stratégie paternaliste qu'il met en place dans l'espace de ses entreprises se rapproche par certains aspects de pratiques employées jusqu'au début du XX^e siècle. Marcesche s'inspire parfois d'un modèle de relations sociales dépassé ; nous pensons ici aux économats prohibés par la loi du 25 mars 1910, accusés d'accroître encore davantage les profits des industriels. Les économats sont tout simplement des magasins annexés aux établissements industriels où les employeurs vendent à leurs ouvriers directement ou indirectement des marchandises diverses. À la C.L.C., une organisation d'achat en commun est instituée ainsi qu'un magasin de vente de poissons, de conserves et de divers produits de la mer. Nous ne pensons pas que le but

⁷ AD56.

recherché par Marcesche est le profit financier mais plutôt la fidélisation des employés et ouvriers à son entreprise. Toujours à la Compagnie de pêche, la pratique de la soupe commune gratuite pour les repas est instaurée ; pratique héritée du modèle commensal très ancien. Mais lorsque l'on fait le bilan des mesures sociales appliquées dans les différentes sociétés du groupe *Marcesche* (Caisses de secours mutuels, Caisses de retraite, cantines, jardins ouvriers, douches, infirmerie, ateliers d'apprentissage, école, coopérative, allocations familiales), nous ne pouvons qu'admettre que toutes ont été profitables aux salariés. Par ailleurs, Marcesche, lorsqu'il met en place des primes et gratifications puis un système de primes au rendement aux *Kaolins d'Arvor*, cherche assurément à éviter les conflits sociaux. Mais nous pouvons aussi affirmer que Marcesche, au fond de lui-même, souhaite vraisemblablement que ses salariés s'identifient à ses entreprises ; l'ouvrier doit aimer son entreprise, s'enraciner en son sein, ce qui favorise la stabilité professionnelle. En produisant du social en même temps que de la valeur ajoutée, en associant les ouvriers et employés à la gestion et aux résultats, il invente l'esprit de la Maison *Marcesche*. Pour retenir les ouvriers, il faut leur procurer une amélioration de leur standard de vie. Marcesche comprend que cette quête du progrès social est fondamentale pour que le capital, le pouvoir et la compétence s'entendent afin d'être en capacité d'innover et de créer.

Conclusion

En 1909, Lorient est le 25^e port de commerce de France ; en 1914, le 21^e. En 1923, Lorient gagne quatre places et se retrouve 17^e de part l'importance de son trafic. Ce classement est finalement excellent car Lorient a bénéficié d'un développement auto-centré autour du charbon, seule voie de croissance que Marcesche avait parfaitement compris.

* * *

Emile Marcesche est un homme dont la dimension est plurielle ; c'est le patron du charbon qui cherche à innover pour développer ses affaires ; c'est le leader de l'économie morbihannaise - il préside la Chambre de commerce pendant dix-huit ans - qui soude le patronat et rend les autres dépendants tant il fait coïncider sa réussite avec celle du Pays de Lorient. Cela génère par pragmatisme une alliance avec des figures politiques radicales-socialistes elles-mêmes pragmatiques. C'est l'idée d'un partage qui triomphe : Marcesche dirige l'économie ; les politiques sont au service de celle-ci. Toutes les initiatives de Marcesche, ses créations, les multiples présidences qu'il cumule, sont le corollaire d'une formidable volonté, audace, activité, détermination, puissance de travail, et d'un dynamisme qu'il est capable de mobiliser. Cette ardeur constante qui s'inscrit dans la durée, permet de mieux souligner encore l'erreur de Marcesche ne n'avoir pas pris en charge la question de la gestion du port de pêche de Keroman ; ce dernier est le fruit de jeux politiques dont Marcesche est écarté ; mais ce constat est aussi peut être le résultat d'une erreur d'appréciation sur son poids réel.

* * *

Marcésche c'est l'innovation, le développement d'un groupe, le développement d'un territoire. Leader du groupe industriel le plus important, Marcésche s'impose naturellement et définitivement comme le leader du territoire qu'il structure et valorise ; il est le défenseur des intérêts morbihannais. Son envergure et son ambition sont départementales. Emile Marcésche représente à Lorient, un modèle original d'entrepreneur nouveau capable de créer une dynamique entrepreneuriale alors que des mutations maritimes fondamentales s'opèrent.



Émile Marcésche au début des années trente (Fonds privé Marie-Madeleine Martinie). Il est alors dirigeant de six entreprises (charbonnages, chalutage, cidrerie, kaolins, banque, journal), président de la Chambre de commerce, président du Comité colonial morbihannais, président de la Caisse d'allocations familiales du Morbihan, conseiller au commerce extérieur. Il est décoré de la Légion d'honneur au titre de la marine marchande.

THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT IN BUKOVINA. THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL PARTY

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Rezumat: Lipsa de unitate și organizare înregistrată în cadrul comunității ucrainene din Bucovina, anterior anului 1918, a fost depășită prin coagularea minorităților ucraineni în jurul Partidului Național Ucrainean, înființat în anul 1926 într-un context politic intern favorabil afirmării propriei identități naționale. Eforturile liderilor săi, derulate în vederea limitării pericolului deznaționalizării și asimilării, utilizării limbii materne, dezvoltării economice și exprimării culturale specifice etniei, susținute de forțe externe, nu au îndepărtat comunitatea ucraineană de la colaborarea cu partidele politice românești și de la implicarea în viața politică a României Mari. Pe fondul evoluțiilor internaționale de la sfârșitul perioadei interbelice, a devenit tot mai clar conturată ideea susținerii creării Ucrainei independente, iar teritoriile locuite de ucraineni au ajuns să prezinte un interes major pentru cele două mari puteri: Germania și URSS.

Abstract: The lack of unity and organization, registered within the Ukrainian community from Bukovina, prior to 1918, has been overcome by the clotting of the Ukrainian minorities around the Ukrainian National Party, founded in 1926, in a political context which was favorable to the affirmation of one's own national identity. The efforts of its leaders, undertaken in order to limit the denationalization and assimilation, of the maternal language use, of the economic development and of the cultural expression specific to the ethnicity, sustained by external forces, have not stopped the Ukrainian community from collaborating with the Romanian political party and their involving in the Great Romania's political life. Due to the international evolutions from the end of the inter-war period, the idea of sustaining the creation of the independent Ukraine became even more clearly outlined, while on the territories where Ukrainians lived, began presenting a major interest for the two powers: Germany and USSR.

Résumé: Le manqué d'unité et d'organisation de la communauté ukrainienne de Bucovina, avant 1918, a été franchi par l'attachement des minoritaires ukrainiens au Parti National Ukrainien, fondé en 1926, grâce au contexte politique favorable pour la déclaration de leur propre identité nationale. Les efforts de ses leaders, vu le pèvil de la dénationalisation et de l'assimilation, de l'emploi de la langue maternelle, du développement économique et de l'expression culturelle ukrainienne, pèvil soutenu par de forces externes, p'ont pas éloigné la communauté ukrainienne de la collaboration avec les partis politiques roumains et leur implication dans la vie politique de la Grande Roumanie. Vu les evolutions internationaux d'après la Première Guerre Mondiale, on a vu plus clairement apparaitre l'idée de soutenir la fondation d'une Ukraine indépendante et, en plus, les territoires habités par les Ukrainiens présentaient un grand intérêt pour les deux pouvoirs: l'Allemagne et l'URSS.

Keywords: *Ukrainian minority, interwar period, representation, leaders, desideratum, political context*

Introduction

The northern part of Moldova, being under the administration of the Habsburg dynasty in the fall of 1774, has known an evolution, marked by important changes within the social and ethnic structure. If, when occupying the province, the Austrians have identified a number of almost 75 thousand people, out of which the majority were Romanians, according to the data presented by the Austrian census in 1910, the population of Bukovina summed up to 794.869 people, out of which 273.216 (34,4 %) Romanians, 303.013 (38,1 %) Ukrainians, 102.899 (12,1 %) Jews, 73.073 (9,2 %) Germans 36.079 (4,5 %) Polish, 10.391 (1,3 %) Hungarians, 1005 (0,1 %) Slovaks, 80 Slovenians, 31 Serbo-Croatians and 36 Italians¹.

The Bukovina population's general census, performed on February 28th 1919, at Iancu Flondor's request, minister-secretary of state, has revealed that the population of the province reached 811.721 inhabitants, out of which 378.859 (46,7 %) Romanians, 227.361 (28 %) Ukrainians, 88.666 (10,9 %) Jews, 68.075 (8,4 %) Germans, 34.119 (4,2 %) Polish people and 14.641 (1,8 %) other ethnicities². Romanians were the majority in the southern and western part of Bukovina, (county Suceava – 78,5 %, Gura Humorului – 73,1 %, Rădăuți – 79,9 %), Ukrainians being numerically superior in the eastern part (registering ratios between 89,2 % and 90,2 % in the counties of Vizhnitsa, Kitsman and Zastavna)³.

The 1930 census has best recorded the ethnical structure, which existed at national and provinces level, in numeric and percentage indicators. In Bukovina's case, out of the total of 853.009 inhabitants, 379.691 (44,5 %) were Romanians, 236.130 (27,7 %) Ukrainians 92.492 (10,8 %) Jews, 75.533 (8,9 %) Germans, 30.580 (3,6 %) Polish people, 12.437 (1,5 %) Hutsuls, 11.881 (1,3 %) Hungarians and 14.265 (1,7 %) other ethnicities⁴.

Throughout the inter-war period, the Ukrainian minority from Bukovina has enjoyed an active political representation, a consequence of previous manifestations, objectified in the formation of: the multi-ethnic political coalition (The Peasant Companionship, June 1904), based on a joint political

¹ I.E. Toroutiu, *Poporația și clasele sociale din Bucovina* [Population and social classes in Bukovina], Bucharest, 1916, p. 37.

² According to the data published in *Buletinul statistic al României* [Romania's statistic bulletin], series IV, volume XV, No 3, 1920, pp. 174 – 175.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Recensământul general al populației României din 29 decembrie 1930* [Romania's population general census of December 29th 1930], volume II, p. LXXVIII.

program, following the agreement between the Democratic Peasant Party, Ukrainians (represented by Stephan Smal-Stocki, Head of the Ukrainian Language Department of the Chernivtsi University, starting with 1906 – the year of its establishment), Germans (represented by Deputy Arthur Skedl) and Jewish people (represented by Deputy Beno Straucher)⁵; The Bukovina's Ruthenian National Council, also known as The Democratic Popular Party (November 12th 1905, at Chernivtsi), turned (June 16th 1907) into The Radical Party; the Ukrainian Branch of the Austrian Social-Democratic Party (1906) in The Ukrainian National-Democratic Party (1912).

Bukovina's ethnical communities, as well as Romanians, have organized themselves a modern political structure, a kind of political party, the fruit of the political experience offered by the functioning of the "Concordia" Political Society, and of the printed Romanian political newspapers⁶.

The political effervescence among the Ukrainian minority has been also favoured by demographic factors, since the population of Ukrainian ethnicity represented almost a third of the Romanian historical province's population total.

Content

The geographic proximity to other territories with a congener population, that is Czechoslovakia, Poland and Ukraine, has made a natural connection between Ukrainians, strengthened by the joint origin and the same nationality – be possible. Given this background, the connection between the Ukrainian political life in Bukovina and the one similar to Galicia, run by The Ukrainian National Party from Poland (UNPP) took place. Thanks to these connections, in 1926, the Ukrainian National Party (UNP) is being established, a political formation having its headquarters in Chernivtsi, which officially centralized and ran the political activity of Bukovina's Ukrainian minority⁷.

⁵ Mihai-Stefan Ceausu, *Evoluția partidelor și grupărilor politice germane din Bucovina* [Evolution of German political parties and groups in Bukovina], in *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX* [Political Parties and National Minorities from Romania in the 20th Century], Sibiu, „Lucian Blaga” University Publishing House, 2007, p. 335.

⁶ Teodor Bălan, *Lupta pentru tricolor. Un capitol din istoria politică a Bucovinei: 1898 – 1904* [The fight for tricolour. A chapter of Bukovina's political history], edition prepared by prof. dr. Marian Olaru, published under the aegis of the Romanian Academy's „Bukovina” Institute, Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 2008 pp. 24, 293 – 295.

⁷ *Arhivele Ministerului Afacerilor Externe, Fond România (1920-1944)* [Records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (further referred to as AMAE), Romania Fund (1920-1944)], volume 389, Review regarding the Ukrainian National Party, p. 57.

Prior to 1926, the political atmosphere among Bukovina's Ukrainian minority was precarious, the lack of organization and coordination, whether from the inside or outside of the country dominating. In these conditions, the Ukrainian National Party has perceived the necessity of sustaining and promoting the interest of the Ukrainian people, proceeding to the detailed organization of its activity. The component bodies of the Ukrainian National Party were represented by the central executive, or the Central Committee, which members coordinated the entire activity, except the one specific to the general congress, and the local executives or Local Council, backed by central executive branches⁸: financial and control branch, which managed financial issues and provided the accountancy control; the economic branch, specialized in the managing of the party's material means the press and propaganda branch, which members prepared reviews, published brochures in newspapers; the judicial branch (the folk's secretariat), with attributions related to legal/judicial counselling, in exchange of certain voluntary donations, meant to cover the expenses resulted. Such branches have been established by each township, their coordination being the responsibility of the Central Committee's members.

Under the management of its president, senator dr. Volodymyr Zalizetky, of its other leaders, among which we mention dr. Mihalski Maier, Yuri Serbeniuk, dr. Leon Kohut, dr. Vasyl Dutchak – considered to be the soul of the Ukrainian movement, dr. Anton Kirilov, an attorney who founded a national fund, through which 10% of the income obtained by each Ukrainian had to be donated to the party⁹, dr. Gregor Kupczanko and dr. Huzar, the Ukrainian National Party has militated for the consolidation of the national spirit among the Ukrainian minorities, by promoting the idea of unity. In this sense, the High National Court, established in 1929 at Chernivtsi, had acquired periodical consignment updating attributions, in a specially created register, of the activity performed by any Ukrainian ethnic, and of judging all misunderstanding between the Ukrainian people or societies, condemning the acts of betrayal by exclusion within the community. Annually, the delegated from the entire country, members of the Ukrainian National Party, were meeting during the Great Congress.

The „Ceas” newspaper, edited in Chernivtsi, under the guidance of Yuri Serbeniuk, had the purpose of promoting the ideas of this party's program. Further,

⁸ AMAE. Fond URSS. Volumul 42. Regulamentul interior al Partidului Național Ucrainean cu sediul la Cernăuți [AMAE. USSR Fund. Volume 42. Internal regulation of the Ukrainian National Party, headquarters in Chernivtsi].

⁹ Alin Spânu, *Evoluția politică a minorității ucrainene din România în documentele serviciilor de informații (1918-1940)* [Ukrainian minority's political evolution in Romania, in the documents of the information services (1918-1940), in *Partide politice și minorități naționale din România în secolul XX* [Political Parties and National Minorities from Romania in the 20th Century], Sibiu, „Lucian Blaga” University Publishing House, 2006, p. 175.

by stating the pragmatic objectives, we will shortly analyze the way in which these were put into practice.

One of the main objectives of the UNP was the eradication of the danger of denationalization and assimilation of the Ukrainian people. The study of certain recorded documents indicate that this main desideratum of the Ukrainian National Party could be realized through various means, this is why we will further set our attention on the irredentist acts, supported and manifested among the Ukrainian youth, with negative effects upon the good cohabitation with the majority population.

Organized into 4 distinct Societies until 1929, the Ukrainian students founded a single association, called „Susor” affiliated to the “TESUS” Ukrainian student association from Prague. During holidays, Ukrainian students spread their own minority’s claims, individually, during their trips to villages, both legally – as members of the party, but also illegally – as adepts of the *Plast* Ukrainian scouts clandestine organization, founded in 1930.

While some of the young and some of the older members of the Ukrainian National Party were having the same goal, that is the creation of the independent Ukraine, the party’s management was stating, whenever it has the occasion, its full loyalty to Romania, leading a policy of accommodation¹⁰, on behalf of the Ukrainian people’s superior interests and the Ukrainism. Thus, at the 1932 general elections, the Ukrainian National Party supported the government, obtaining seats in the country’s parliament.

The same idea, of forming an independent Ukrainian state, was to be also agreed by Adolf Hitler, whose accession to power in Germany, following the winning of the parliament elections by the right extreme in January 1933, was to produce forced changes at international level¹¹. This issue was carefully followed by the Romanian state’s diplomatic representatives, who periodically sent, within the country, reports related to the trends manifested among the Ukrainian emigrants, or regarding them. Thus, we find¹² about a meeting which would have taken place at the beginning of 1933, in Locarno, between Colonel Yevhen Konovalts, Head of the Ukrainian National Organization (UNO), which has as purpose the subordination of the Ukrainian National Party to his own organization, benefiting, in this respect, from the support of the youth, and two Hitler delegates, including Rosenberg, during which

¹⁰ AMAE, *Fond România (1920 - 1940)*, volumul 389, p. 47. *Ucrainenii din România* [AMAE. Romania Fund (1920-1940)], Volume 389 p. 47. The Ukrainians from Romania].

¹¹ Cătălin Huțu, *Bucovina. Adevăruri trecute sub tăcere* [Bucovina. True facts under silence] Iași, Institutul European Publishing House, 2012, p. 14.

¹² AMAE, *Fond 71/URSS (1929-1933)* [AMAE. 71/USSR Fund (1929-1933)], Volume 39, *Chestiunea ucraineană* [The Ukrainian issue]. Bulletin no 6, dated April 1st 1933, of the Political Affairs Direction, The Oriental Section, contains *Noi informațiuni asupra acțiunii ucrainene* [New information on the Ukrainian action] prepared on the basis of the report submitted on March 17th 1933 by the Minister Cădere, who was in Warsaw.

the possibility of constituting the independent Ukraine has been discussed, which territory was to encompass Soviet Ukraine, Poland's voivodships and Bukovina. Initially seen by the soviet press – the „TASS” agency as lacking credibility, this information caused worrying among the Moscow's officials, when it was rumoured that Rosenberg could become Reich's Foreign Minister. The fear was well founded, given that the same Russian officials considered that one of the purposes of the German-Italian-Hungarian alliance was the solving of the Ukrainian issue, to the detriment of USSR¹³.

It is worth mentioning, in this context, that the idea of denationalization is not alien to Bukovina, actually dating back in the time of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, when, due to political reasons, the rulers of the time have constantly encouraged the Ukrainian population. Ever since the 19th century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire had in sight the creation of a so-called “buffer state”, with the role of blocking the expansion of the former Tzarist Empire towards the west. In this purpose, even since the first half of the 19th Century, the Austro-Hungarian Empire has supported the Ukrainian national movement and revival, which has initially manifested itself in Galicia¹⁴. The Austrian census of the Bukovina population, performed on December 31st 1910, indicated the rapid evolution of the de province Slavization. According to it, there were 305.013 Ukrainians and 273.216 Romanians. Numeric data have been disputed by I. E. Torouțiu, which thought of them as being false and who stated that, in fact, there were 313.254 Romanians and 263.013 Ruthenian, as well as by R. F. Kaindl, the latter invoking the lack of the census's scientific character, since the main reviewing criteria has been the conversational language¹⁵.

In order to encourage the Ukrainians' establishment in Bukovina, the Austro-Hungarian authorities have supported the Ukrainian cultural associations, allowing and encouraging the establishment of Ukrainian schools, the material subsidies being provided greatly by the “religious fund”, made up of donations and testamentary foundations made by old Romanian boyars and rulers, to the monasteries of Bukovina.

Among the objectives placed at the forefront of leaders' attention, one could count the representing of the Ukrainian people within the country and abroad, the fighting for the creation of primary, secondary and normal Ukrainian schools, as well as the introduction of the Ukrainian language in these teaching institutions, as teaching language, and subsequently, within justice and administration.

The new political context, occurring due to the returning of Bukovina's northern part back to Romania, has not limited the right of the minorities to access,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 363.

¹⁴ AMAE. Fond URSS. Volumul 42, a study entitled *Date asupra populațiunii ucrainene din Bucovina* [Data concerning the Ukrainian population in Bukovina], pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ Teodor Bălan, *op. cit.*, p. 294.

freely and for free, to education. Thus, the law for the state's primary education and the primary-normal education (July 24th 1924) guaranteed, in the article which made reference to minorities, the teaching of maternal language within the normal schools where the ratio of minority students was of at least 20% of the students' total number (art. 201). At the same time, the normative act imposed natural standards of knowing the Romanian language, in the case of minority teachers, who, in case they proved, during inspections, that they did not have enough knowledge as to teach Romanian language, Romanian history, Romanian geography and of the civic training taught in Romanian, were to be sent to take courses and exams (art. 228)¹⁶. Through these measures, Dr. Constantin Anghelescu, the Minister of Public Instruction, had in sight the integrating of minority students, with the help of teachers belonging to various minorities, in Romania's new organizational framework, without making a dent in their natural right of knowing and speaking their maternal language. Thus, it was not the case of "changing the identities of the Ukrainian peasants' children"¹⁷, by introducing Romanian language in the primary schools.

Subsumed to the claiming steps as far as the education was concerned, dr. Vasyl Dutchak has submitted a memoire to the Nations' Society, in the content of which he invoked the fact that the Ukrainians have previously held, in Bukovina, 190 primary schools, three high-schools and a normal school, as well as a special department within the Chernivtsi University. The memoire, signed by Vasyl Dutchak, has been drafted at the urge of Petru Sievici, follower of the establishment of the Ukrainian Republic, within which Bukovina's northern part was also included¹⁸.

Dr. Vasyl Dutchak's political ascension took place amid his revaluation of the necessity of acquiring free legal counselling and advice by all the Ukrainian societies and people, becoming, in short time, a symbol of the Ukrainian community in Bukovina. Shortly after the unification of the province with Romania, his attorney office in Chernivtsi, situated on Regina Maria Street, No 9, would become „the Bukovina Ukrainian policy and minorities office”¹⁹. It is no coincidence that the requests of the Ukrainian inhabitants from some Bukovina townships, contained in the protest submitted to the Ministry of Public Instruction in 1925, related to the reintroduction of education in Ukrainian within the schools and localities where they

¹⁶ Ion Scurtu, Liviu Boar (coordinators), *Minoritățile naționale din România (1918-1925). Documente* [Romania's national minorities (1918-1925). Documents], Bucharest, 1996, pp. 691-692.

¹⁷ Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918-1944* [The Romanization of Bukovina. Execution of Great Romania's national revendications 1918-1944], Muenchen, 2001.

¹⁸ AMAE. Fond Geneva. Dosar Societatea Națiunilor. Referitor la minoritatea ucraineană din România (1927-1938). [AMAE. Geneva Fund. File „Society of Nations” concerning the Ukrainian minority in Romania (1927-1938)]. Volume 237, p. 14.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

lived, have been submitted and authenticated at dr. Vasyl Dutchak's attorney office. These requests have been rejected by the Chernivtsi school inspector, who considered them implementations of dr. Vasyl Dutchak's claiming steps²⁰. Such attitudes of certain Romanian clerks have generated protests from the ethnic minorities, not only from the Ukrainian one, representing de facto, the manifestation of the dissatisfactions with the national-liberal government policy (the gradual unification of the education system within all provinces and the diminishing of the maternal language education ratio), which, as Ukrainian and German ethnics sustained, has kicked in their cultural interests, by dissolving the Ukrainian and German classes in the 1927/1928 school year²¹.

Ever since 1922, dr. Vasyl Dutchak stated that the Romanian government's policy limited the constitutional rights of Bukovina's Ukrainians, of using Ukrainian language. Thus, by the review read during the Ukrainian General Meeting, on July 16th 1922 from Chernivtsi, of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, which co-founder he was, together with Bilech, dr. Vasyl Dutchak thought of various administrative and judicial orders, by which the using of Ukrainian language in the daily activity of courts and other institutions, was no longer allowed, as being illegal. As a sign of protest for the introduction of Romanian language in courts' activity, dr. Vasyl Dutchak has submitted a memoir of the Attorney's Body to the Court of Appeal. At the same time, as for the education issue, the Ukrainian General Meeting has protested against the introduction of Romanian language in the Ukrainian schools (90 Ukrainian primary schools, with 280 classes), the compulsoriness of studying History and Geography in Romanian at the Chernivtsi Ukrainian High-School, the dissolving of the Ukrainian high-school from Kitsman and Vizhnitsa, of the Ukrainian classes within the Siret high-school and of the Ukrainian girls' private Seminary.

No less important for UNP were considered the objectives which had as purpose the adopting of the Ukrainian language official character, next to the Romanian one, in the localities with a numerous Ukrainian population; economically, the establishment of Ukrainian popular /folk cooperatives and banks, as a first step of forming their own national economy, as well as the subsidy of credit and consumer cooperatives, by the state; politically, the administrative decentralization and consulting of the Ukrainian minority's representatives in adopting certain local administrative measures²².

²⁰ AMAE. Fond România (1920-1944). Volumul 386 [AMAE. Romania Fund (1920-1940). Volume 386] and in Daniel Hrenciuc, *Continuitate și schimbare. Integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în regatul României Mari (1918-1940)* [Continuity and change. Integration of national minorities in the historical Bukovina within Great Romania Kingdom (1918-1940)], Rădăuți, Septentrion Publishing House, 2005, p. 124.

²¹ *Glasul Bucovinei* [Bukovina's Voice], January 16th 1929, p. 1.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

The desire to achieve the guidelines set by the Ukrainian National Party in the economic and cultural fields, with the help of specialized branches, coordinated by the Central Committee, was strengthened by the cultural, economic and sports associations' activities. The inner efforts were supported from the outside, through the connections developed by the party's members with the political associations' representatives and Ukrainian associations from abroad, especially with those in Prague, Berlin and Lvov. At the same time, the Poland Ukrainian Party's management was closely supervising the way in which the Bukovina's Ukrainian National Party's leaders understood how to organize and run the acts of the Ukrainian movement emancipation.

Towards the end of the inter-war period, that is, in 1936, the UNP experienced an intensification of the previously generated propagandistic activity in Bukovina, in the context of international mutations and favourable political circumstances, from which the Ukrainian elite would take profit.

In the context of the Ukrainian Union meeting in Germany, in Berlin, on April 2nd 1936, occasioned by the anniversary of this union's existence, a greeting telegram sent by the German Socialist National Party was read. At the same time, Professor Paul Rohrbach, a specialist in the Ukrainian issue, evoked the necessity of organizing Ukraine with German support, an idea subsequently known under the name of „Rohrbach's theory”. He emphasized the need of unifying all Ukraine's parts “under Germany's sceptre”, indicating that „the third Reich will not refuse this task”²³. Not by chance, politically speaking, Germany became a pole of attraction for Bukovina's Ukrainian minority²⁴, so that the Ukrainian peasants from the proximity of the frontier, speaking about the new Ukrainian state and Adolf Hitler, considered the latter to be „Ukrainian people's saviour”²⁵. The actual state was taking place due to the expansion of the nationalist trend within the Ukrainian youth environments, given that in 1930 the bases of the first nationalist organization were founded, also known as the Ukrainian Revolutionaries' Legion, while four years later, in 1934, the Ukrainian nationalists have unified around the Ukrainian Nationalists Organization,

²³ AMAE. Fond România (1920-1944). Volumul 389. Extras din Nota Direcțiunii Generale a Poliției, nr. 956 din 17 aprilie 1936, referitoare la mișcarea ucraineană, relevat în cuprinsul scrisorii adresată ministrului României la Berlin, datată mai 1936. [AMAE. Romania Fund (1920-1944). Volume 389. Excerpt of the Police's General Direction's Note, no 956, dated April 17th 1936, related to the Ukrainian Movement, revealed in the content of the letter addressed to Romania's minister in Berlin, dated May 1936].

²⁴ Abstract in English of the study signed by Volodymyr Fisanoff, entitled *At the turn of conceptions and activities. Bukovina in search of European authenticity*, published in *Bukovina of 1918-1940: Foreign influences and inland development (Data and records)*, Chernivtsi, 2005, p. 292.

²⁵ AMAE. Fund URSS. Volumul 42. Buletin informativ datat 17 ianuarie 1939 [AMAE. USSR Fund. Volume 42. Informative bulletin dated January 17th 1939.]

from the South-Eastern Territories, under the commandment of Orest Zibachinski²⁶.

In other words, the issue was the inclusion of Galicia and Bukovina to Ukraine, a fact partially agreed by Petliurists, who yet stated that they do not intend to conquer the lands inhabited by Ukrainians, integral parts of Romania, but they only have in sight the obtaining of Galicia's autonomy and the setting of the Soviet Ukraine free.

The effort of reaching to a joint point of view regarding the supporting of one of the two political orientations, pro-soviet or germanophile, manifested within the Ukrainian intellectual and politicians, has determined them to reevaluate, any opportunity emphasized by the international events from the end of the inter-war interval, on the spot, which could contribute to the formation of the independent Ukraine.

On the other hand, Stalin and Hitler would dispute their supremacy regarding the territories inhabited by Ukrainians, each for the consolidation of his own strategic position in the area, but by totally different means and methods.

Thus, the third Reich has seen in the Ukrainian nationalist movement, an effective means of getting closer to Ukraine, by attracting the management of the Warsaw Petliurist emigration on its side, facilitating its own influence among the Ukrainian organizations from abroad. These were to be used for the running of a propaganda, supported in order to argumentation of the need of creating the Great Ukraine, by invoking the legitimate right of nations' self-determination. The German plan for the establishment of Great Ukraine meant the unifying of the territories inhabited by Ukrainians in Poland-Galicia, USSR, Czechoslovakia and Romania – northern Bukovina, Marmarosh, Bessarabia and south of the region²⁷. USSR acted in opposite manner, its attitude resulting in eliminating the separatist and nationalist Ukrainian elements, by various means: Ukraine's administrative reorganization, the joining of other strategic areas to other soviet republics, the insertion of ethnical groups among the majority population and the inhabitants' massive relocation in regions of Siberia, imposing the use of Russian language in the administrative, educational and cultural fields, as well as in justice, the recruiting of militaries faithful to Moscow.

The Ukrainian National Party has blended the Ukrainian community elite from Bukovina its leaders, holders of a high cultural level, of certain optimal social

²⁶ Abstract in English of the study signed by Ihor Piddubnyi, entitled *The Bukovinian political life in 1918 – 1940*, published in *Bukovina of 1918-1940: Foreign influences and inland development (Data and records)*, Chernivtsi 2005, p. 297.

²⁷ Mihai Iacobescu, *O lucrare inedită a istoricului Ion Nistor: Expansiunea germană către estul și sud-estul Europei, 1 ianuarie 1939* [An unpublished work of historian Ion Nistor: The German expansion towards the south-eastern Europe, January 1st 1939], in *Ion Nistor (1876 - 1962)*, coordinated by Alexandru Zub, Iași, „Alexandru Ioan Cuza” University Publishing House, 1993, pp. 131 – 144.

relations and financial situations, adopting an attitude similar to the Hungarian and German minority parties. Thus, dr. Volodymyr Zalizetzkyy, regarded as the majority of his co-nationals as the Ukrainians' exponent in Romania, offered his electoral support to the various political parties which succeeded in governance, in exchange of new parliament mandates. Supported, in his turn, indirectly by political parties, the Ukrainian National Party became, in short time from its establishment, the most important Ukrainian political formation in the country, both by virtue of the members' number, as by the activity performed.

As for the external/foreign relations, dr. Volodymyr Zalizetzkyy presented himself as Romanian senator of Ukrainian nationality, and representative of the Ukrainian minority population in Romania, constantly supporting his congeners' interests. In the context of his participating (1933) in the Bern's Minority Congress, dr. Volodymyr Zalizetzkyy requested, on behalf of the Galicia and Bukovina's Ukrainians, the "territorial autonomy", seeing in it, the solution of the "minorities issue", while four years later (1937), during the Minorities Congress organized in London, which president he had been chosen, he militated for the extending of minorities' rights, the way they have been established by the peace treaties²⁸.

Conclusions

During the period which is subject to the present study, that is, the inter-war period, the Ukrainian minority, as well as the other Romanian citizens of other nationalities have enjoyed equal rights with the majority population, as enshrined by the country's laws,²⁹ and strengthened by the treaty signed (1920) by Romania, related to the protection of national minorities³⁰. All ethnical communities were offered the freedom of organizing their own cultural and political life, as well as the chance of participating in the administrative or parliament activity. Dr. Vasyl Dutchak's petitions, who acted on behalf of the Ukrainian community, addressed to the Nations' Society, were examined by a committee, composed of three members of the Council, after which, they had been previously submitted to the attention of the Romanian state, for further comments.³¹

²⁸ AMAE. USSR Fund. Volume 42. *Date asupra populațiunii ucrainene din Bucovina* [Data concerning the Ukrainian population in Bukovina], pp. 8 – 10.

²⁹ Ioan Scurtu, *Viața politică din România, 1918-1940* [Romania's political life, 1918-1940] Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1982, p. 65.

³⁰ Ion Diaconu, *Minoritățile în mileniul al treilea, între globalism și spirit național* [Minorities within the third millenium, between globalism and national spirit], Bucharest, Asociația Română pentru Educație Democratică [Romanian Association for Democratic Education] Publishing House, 1999, p. 32.

³¹ *Ibid*, p. 34.

The initial establishment and functioning of the Ukrainian National Party took place in a period politically dominated by the National-Liberal Party, in the context of the liberal governances from January 1922 –March 1926 and June 1927-November 1928. Equality in rights for all Romanian citizens, regardless of nationality, could be found, ever since 1921, in the National-Liberal Party's program, along with other requests, such as education development, administrative and legislative unification, country's restoration and development, all of these aiming at the development of the Romanian state³².

³² Ioan Scurtu, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

A CAMPAIGN OF THE GREAT HETMAN JAN ZAMOYSKI IN MOLDAVIA (1595). PART I. POLITICO-DIPLOMATIC AND MILITARY PRELIMINARIES

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Rezumat: Relațiile polono-turce din secolului XVI au fost în general pașnice, între cele două state rămânând însă o sursă de conflict datorită ciocnirilor frecvente dintre tătari și cazaci și a pretențiilor polone, viabile, de suveranitate asupra Moldovei. Izbucnirea războiului dintre otomani și habsburgi în 1593 oferea Poloniei o oportunitate de a-și întări politica în sud-est. Trecerea vasalilor creștini ai sultanului de partea împăratului Rudol II a determinat relocarea operațiilor militare pe teritoriul de azi al României. Subordonarea teritoriilor românești de către habsburgi sau competiția lor subjugare de către otomani era periculoasă pentru Republica polonă. De aceea, în vara anului 1595, cancelarul și marele hetman al Coroanei (polone) a decis să intre cu o parte a trupelor polone în Moldova.

Abstract: Polish-Turkish relations in the sixteenth century were generally peaceful, but the source of a conflict remained because of recurring bouts of Tatars and Cossacks, and the unexpired Polish claims to sovereignty over Moldavia. The outbreak of the war between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in 1593 offered for Poland an opportunity to strengthen its policy in the southeast. The movement of the Christian vassals of the Sultan to the side of the Emperor Rudolf II resulted in the relocation of military operations to the territory of today's Romania. The subordination of the Romanian lands to the Habsburgs or their complete subjugation by the Ottomans was dangerous to Rzeczpospolita. Thus, in the summer of 1595, the Chancellor and the Great Hetman of the Crown Jan Zamoyski decided to enter with a part of Polish troops to Moldavia.

Résumé: Les relations polonaises-turques du XVI^{ème} furent, en général, tranquilles; mais entre les deux Etats resta une source de conflit à cause des luttes fréquentes entre les Tatars et les Cosaques et des prétentions polonaises, viables, de souveraineté sur la Moldavie. L'éclatement de la guerre entre les Ottomans et les Habsbourgeois en 1593 offrit à la Pologne une opportunité de consolider sa politique dans le sud-est. Le passage des vassaux chrétiens du sultan de la part de l'empereur Rudolf II détermina la relocation des opérations militaires sur le territoire actuel de la Roumanie. La subordination des territoires roumains par les Habsbourgeois ou leur conquête totale par les Ottomans était dangereuse pour la République polonaise. A cause de cela, l'été de l'année 1595, le chancelier et le grand hetman de la Couronne (polonaise) décida à entrer avec une partie des troupes polonaises en Moldavie.

Keywords: Moldavia, Poland, Turkey, Habsburg Empire, Jan Zamoyski, expedition

Poland and Turkey competed for Moldavia, and on the outbreak of the Ottoman-Habsburg war in 1593 the game was also joined by the Empire¹. The focal point of this competition was the first expedition to Moldavia, undertaken by Jan Zamoyski in 1595. The course of this expedition and its reasons are the subject of this study.

The overview of sources starts from printed Polish chronicles. The first to mention is of *Dalszy ciąg kroniki polskiej* [The Continuation of the Polish Chronicle] by Joachim Bielski, contemporary to the described facts. This is a continuation of *Kronika polska* [The Polish Chronicle] by Marcin Bielski, which is a separate part of the *Kronika wszystkiego świata* [The Chronicle of the Whole World], published for the first time in Krakow in 1551². Similar values present the works of Reinhold Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do r. 1594* [The History of Poland from Sigismund August's death till 1594] and *Vita Joannis Zamojskii* [The Life of Jan Zamoyski]³. The author was close to Jan Zamoyski, and he participated in some of the events that he would later describe⁴ -

¹ The explosion of Turkish-Habsburgian war in 1593 and the political role of Moldavia in this period is discussed by J.P. Niederkorn, *Die europäische Mächte und der „Lange Türkenkrieg“ Kaiser Rudolfs II (1593–1606)* [The European Power and the “Long Turkish War” of Emperor Rudolf II (1593-1606)], Wien 1993, basing mainly on: J. Macúrek, *Zápas Polska a Habsburku o přístup k Černému Moři na sklonku 16 stol.* [The Struggle between Poland and Habsburgs for access to the Black Sea in the end of 16th Century], Praha 1931. For the critical characteristic of the work of J.P. Niederkorn see the review of S. Augustowicz, in „Przegląd Historyczny”, 1994, vol. 85, p. 335-339.

² J. Bielski, *Joachima Bielskiego Dalszy ciąg Kroniki polskiej, zawierającej dzieje od 1587 do 1598 r.* [Joachim Bielski's the Continuation of the Polish Chronicle, including history from 1587 till 1598] ed. by F.M. Sobieszczański, Warszawa 1851. On *Kronika polska* [The Polish Chronicle] by M. Bielski and its continuation by J. Bielski see: H. Barycz, *Bielski Joachim*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary] (further: *PSB*), vol. 2, Kraków 1936, p. 61–64 and I. Chrzanowski, *Bielski Marcin*, *ibid.*, p. 64–66.

³ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do r. 1594* [The History of Poland from Sigismund August's death till 1594], transl. by M. Gliszczyński, Petersburg 1857 (the original title: *Rerum Polonicarum ab excessu Sigismundi Augusti libri XII* [Twelve books of the Polish History after death of Sigismund August], published 1672 in Frankfurt am Main); *Vita Joannis Zamojskii* [The Life of Jan Zamoyski] was written in 1605–1606. About the author and his works see: B. Kocowski, *Heidenstein Reinhold*, *PSB*, vol. 9, Warszawa 1960-1961, p. 342–344.

⁴ As an example here could serve the mission of transferring information to the King Sigismund III, returning from Sweden in 1594, about the transition of the Tatar Horde through Polish lands: „Revererat autem Rex Gedanum vigesima die Augusti, Cracovia die Secunda Mensis Octobris, ad quem primo Joanne Felicio Herburto Gedano proficiscentem Cracoviam, deinde Reinoldo Heidensteinio misso, cum de aliis rebus Zamojscius communicabat, tum Cracoviae praesertim invidiam transitus Tartarici a se transferebat” [“The King has come back to Gdańsk on August 20th, and to Krakow on October 2nd. Jan Feliks Herburto had left Krakow first and he has gone to the King, and after him Reinhold Heidenstein was sent. When Zamoyski communicated about the others things, especially

but he was biased in favour of his patron. The *Chronicle* of Paul Piasecki, bishop of Przemyśl, published in Krakow in 1645 as *Chronica gestorum in Europa singularium* [The Chronicle of the Individual Events in Europe] is of secondary track to the previously mentioned works, with less special weight. Author based on the chronicles of Bielski and Dimitri Solikowski, as far as, it is not excluded, on the manuscripts of Heidenstein. It fails when describing the number of Turkish-Tatar forces⁵. As for *Życie Jana Zamoyskiego* [The Life of Jan Zamoyski] by Franciszek Bohomolec, issued in 1775, it should be treated more as a version of the *Vita Joannis Zamojskii* than a separate source⁶.

A valuable source is in this aspect a chronicle of Miron Costin, a continuation of the work of Grigore Ureche⁷. However, it should be borne in mind that, in relation to past events, the author is sometimes imprecise. This includes the estimation of the

about the envy in Krakow caused by the passage of Tatars”], R. Hidenstein, *Vita Joannis Zamojskii* [The Life of Jan Zamoyski], Poznań 1861, p. 119. As P. Gawron has marked in his *Hetman koronny w systemie ustrojowym Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1581-1646* [The Crown hetman in the Government System of Rzeczpospolita in 1581-1646], Warszawa 2010, p. 109, J. Zamoyski was de facto creator of the Polish politics towards Turks.

⁵ For example, the number of Tatars, whom J. Zamoyski opposed at Țuțora, is estimated at 70,000 – *Kronika* [The Chronicle], p. 127 – as Bielski, observing the mentioned facts from near distance, writes that „było ich wojska wszytkiego pewnie do czterdzieści tysięcy: acz drudzy więcej liczą” [“their army was about 40 000 men, but the others count them more”] (J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 250). Similarly the number of Hungarians, sent to Razvan by Sigismund Batory, is overestimated: „Zygmunt książę Siedmiogrodu [...] wysłał Stefana Rozwana z 12000 Węgrów, aby Jeremiego wypędził i Mołdawiją opanował” [Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, sent Stefan Razvan with 12 000 Hungarians to expel Ieremia and occupy Moldavia”] (*Kronika* [The Chronicle], p. 128). The same is described by J. Bielski: „Rozwan przeszedwszy góry niewiadomie przyszedł do Wołoch, mając wojska wyższej trzech tysięcy” [“Razvan had passed mountains and he has come to Moldavia without being seen and his army was over three thousand men”] (J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 256), R. Heidenstein, in his turn, states that „Miał on 4000 piechoty i starych żołnierzy, nowo zaciężnych i Szeklerów nie mało, jazdy do 1000” [“He had 4000 men of infantry and experienced soldiers, just recruited and many Seklers; his cavalry was about 1000 men”] (R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], vol. 1, p. 356).

⁶ F. Bohomolec, *Życie Jana Zamoyskiego, kanclerza i hetmana wielkiego koronnego, krakowskiego [...] starosty* [The Life of Jan Zamoyski, the Chancellor and the Great Hetman of the Crown, the Starosta of Krakow], ed. by K.J. Turowski, Kraków 1860. About the author see: S. Bednarski, *Bohomolec Franciszek, PSB*, vol. 2, Kraków 1936, p. 224–225.

⁷ M. Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Mołdawskiej i inne utwory historyczne* [The Chronicle of Moldavia and the others historical works], ed. by I. Czamańska, Poznań 1998. For the disposition there is also the work, preceding M. Costin: G. Ureche, *Letopisețul Țării Moldovei*, [The Chronicle of Moldavia], ed. by P.P. Panaitescu, București 1955.

number of troops involved in the campaign. M. Costin also wrongly considered Stefan Razvan to be invented by himself – Stefan Radul.

Finally, the collections of letters from the spoken time have to be mentioned; they were mainly published and edited by Romanian historians⁸. A significant part of these letters comes from Polish archives and are mainly of Polish authors⁹. Unfortunately, this correspondence concentrates on the events preceding the Polish intervention in Moldavia in 1595 and its consequences, so it is somewhat limited usefulness for the topic of the research. Instead, the collections of letters and Polish-Turkish treatises have to be mentioned (the Ottoman Porte was the head of Moldavia in the period). In the first place here have to be mentioned the edition works of Z. Abrahamowicz and D. Kołodziejczyk¹⁰.

In the mentioned correspondence particularly noteworthy is a letter from Jan Zamoyski to King Sigismund III, written in the camp of Țuțora (Cecora) a few days after the battle and entering a treaty with the Tatar-Turkish party, which has been published in the already mentioned Romanian edition of E. Hurmuzaki¹¹. It is one of the primary sources to learn about the Țuțora battle and the content of the agreement with the Tatars, which have opened the way for the Polish to Moldavia and was the culmination of a diplomatic struggle. Next to this material a similar role is to be given for the expedition diaries, also issued in print even in the interwar period¹².

At this stage of the research Ottoman chronicles will be useful to a lesser extent; proper use of them requires a separate study. However, it should be noted that

⁸ *Documente privitoare la istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki* [Documents on the history of Romanians collected by Eudoxiu Hurmuzaki], suppl. 2, vol. 1, ed. by I. Bogdan, București 1893; *Documente privind istoria României. Veacul XVI. A. Moldova* [Documents on the history of Romania. XVI Century. A. Moldova], vol. 4, ed. by I. Ionascu, București, 1952; *Documente privitoare la istoria României culese din arhivele polone. Secolul al XVI-lea* [Documents on the history of Romania collected from the Polish archives. XVI Century], ed. by I. Corfus, București 1979.

⁹ For example, in the mentioned edition of E. Hurmuzaki there was published a considerable large correspondence between the Moldovian Hospodar Ieremia Movilă and Jan Zamoyski, preserved in AGAD, The Zamoyski archive ("Archiwum Zamoyskich", further: AZ), sygn. 150.

¹⁰ *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i krajów ościennych w latach 1455-1672* [Set of Turkish documents. Documents on the history of Poland and the neighbours countries in 1455-1672], ed. by Z. Abrahamowicz, in: *Katalog rękopisów orientalnych ze zbiorów polskich* [Set of oriental manuscripts in the Polish collections], ed. by S. Strelcyn, vol. 1, part 1, Warszawa 1959; *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century). An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents*, ed. by D. Kołodziejczyk, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2000.

¹¹ J. Zamoyski to Sigismund III, Cecora, 24 October 1595, in: E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare...* [Documents...], suppl. 2, vol. 1, No. CLXXXIII, p. 355-357.

¹² J. Jasnowski, *Dwie relacje z wyprawy Zamoyskiego pod Cecorę w 1595 r.* [Two relations about Zamoyski's campaign at Țuțora in 1595], „Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy”, 1938, vol. 10.

thanks to the Romanian editions they are also available to Polish researchers¹³.

Most of the archival sources, used in this study, come from the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw. Facing the damage of a considerable part of state archives during the World War II, of great importance seem birth records, especially the one of Jan Zamoyski. For example, extensive correspondence can be found in the Archives of Zamoyski, Ref. 150 (*nota bene* issued in Romania - see. Footnote 9), as well as among other diplomatic correspondence of the Hetman¹⁴. A lot of material could be found in copies of historical documents, prepared by A. Naruszewicz, covering the period of the reign of Stefan Báthory and Sigismund III Vasa - although they are not directly connected with the expedition of 1595.¹⁵

Rich is also a bibliography, which can be divided into two parts: the editions of works directly related to the 1595 expedition and its consequences, or studies of the broader context of the Polish-Moldavian-Turkish relations at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. They also deserve attention as they explain the circumstances, without which it is impossible to fully understand the nuances of Polish or Turkish - or Habsburgian - politics, economical regards and cultural consequences. A full discussion of this literature would oversize this study; therefore we stop by signalling the most important positions.

From the range of works, directly relating to the 1595 events, in the first place there have to be mentioned old editions of priest J. Sas¹⁶, from later Polish authors – the works of Z. Spieralski, L. Bazyłow and J. Demel¹⁷. These are long-metric studies, and quite often of general character because of their synthetic nature. Among recent developments, concerning the effects of the expedition or its political or financial aspects, the works of V. Ciobanu, D. Skorupa and A. Filipczak-Kocur could be mentioned¹⁸, as well as the articles of J. Rzońca, C. Bobicescu, P. Gawron, A.

¹³ I have here in mind the selection from the Ottoman chronicles: *Cronici turcești privind țările române. Extrase* [Turkish chronicles on Romanian countries. Extracts], vol. 2, ed. by M. Guboglu, București, 1974. Here information about the fights between Turks and Michael the Brave (Mihai Viteazul) could be found, which are described, among others, by the chronicles of Solakzade Mehmed Hemdemi, *Tarih* [The History], *Ibid.*, p.126-165 and Müneğgimbaşı, *Sahaif ül-ahbar* [The Clear of Greats], *Ibid.*, p. 233-275.

¹⁴ See: AGAD, AZ 637, 863, 865 i 867.

¹⁵ See: AGAD, Naruszewicz records ("Teki Naruszewicza", further: TN) 9, 10, 11 and 12.

¹⁶ J. Sas, *Wyprawa Zamoyskiego na Mołdawię* [Campaign of Jan Zamoyski in Moldavia], „Przegląd Powszechny”, 1897, R. 14, vol. 66.

¹⁷ Z. Spieralski, *Awantury moldawskie* [Moldavian rows], Warszawa 1967; L. Bazyłow, *Siedmiogród a Polska 1576–1613* [Transylvania towards Poland 1576-1613] Warszawa 1967; J. Demel, *Historia Rumunii* [The History of Romania], Warszawa 1970.

¹⁸ V. Ciobanu, *La cumpănă de veacuri (Țările române în contextul politicii poloneze la sfârșitul secolului al XVI-lea și începutul secolului al XVII-lea)* [On a scale of centuries (Romanian countries in the context of Polish policy in the end of 16th and at the beginning

Barwicka and V. Constantinov¹⁹. Another category consists of biographies of the main actors in the events, Jan Zamoyski²⁰ and Stanisław Żółkiewski²¹. There is no biography in Polish of Ieremia Movilă - quite a lot of information about him can be found in the works of I. Czamańska²².

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- of 17th century)], Iași 1991; D. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie 1595-1623* [Polish-Tatars relationships 1595-1623], Warszawa 2004; A. Filipczak-Kocur, *Skarbowość Rzeczypospolitej 1587-1648. Projekty-ustawy-realizacja* [The Finance of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth 1587-1648. Projects-Acts-Realisation], Warszawa 2006.
- ¹⁹ J. Rzońca, *Rzeczpospolita wobec propozycji przystąpienia do Ligi Antytureckiej u schyłku XVI wieku* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth towards a proposal of join the Anti-Turkish coalition at the end of 16th century], „Sprawozdania Opolskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk. Wydział I – Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych”, seria A, No. 21, Opole 1988, p. 15-30; C.A. Bobicescu, *Unia, inkorporacja czy lenno? Kilka uwag o stosunkach Moldawii z Rzeczpospolitą podczas panowania Jeremiego Mohiły (1595-1606)* [Union, incorporation or feud? Some remarks on the relationships of Moldavia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during Ieremia Movilă reign (1595-1606)], in: *Rzeczpospolita w XVI-XVIII wieku. Państwo czy wspólnota?* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 16th-17th century. The state or the community?], ed. by B. Dybaś, P. Hanczewski, T. Kempa, Toruń 2007, p. 219-239; P. Gawron, *Jan Zamoyski, kanclerz i hetman wielki koronny, wobec zmagañ turecko-habsburskich w latach 1593-1605/6* [Jan Zamoyski, the Chancellor and the Great Hetman of the Crown towards Turkish-habsburgian fights in 1593-1605/6], in: *Polska wobec wielkich konfliktów w Europie nowożytnej. Z dziejów dyplomacji i stosunków międzynarodowych w XV-XVIII wieku* [Poland towards great conflicts in the modern Europe. From the history of diplomacy and international relations in 15th-18th century], ed. by R. Skowron, p. 23-47; A. Barwicka, *Rzeczpospolita w planach dyplomacji papieskiej i habsburskiej w okresie wojny austriacko-tureckiej 1593-1606* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in plans of papal and habsburgian diplomacy in the period of the Austrian-Turkish war 1593-1606], *ibid.*, p. 297-307; V. Constantinov, *Moldawia w stosunkach międzynarodowych w końcu XVI i na początku XVII wieku*, [Moldavia in the international relationships at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century], in: *Rzeczpospolita wobec Orientu w epoce nowożytnej* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Orient in the Modern Era], ed. by D. Milewski, Zabrze 2011, p. 10-21.
- ²⁰ A. Śliwiński, *Jan Zamoyski, kanclerz i hetman wielki koronny* [Jan Zamoyski, the Chancellor and the Great Hetman of the Crown], Warszawa 1947; S. Grzybowski, *Jan Zamoyski*, Warszawa 1994 and recently S. Leśniewski, *Jan Zamoyski. Hetman i polityk* [Jan Zamoyski. Hetman and Politician], Warszawa 2008 and M. Plewczyński, *Jan Zamoyski herbu Jelita (1542-1605) hetman wielki* [Jan Zamoyski, arms of Jelita (1542-1605) the Great Hetman], in: *Poczet hetmanów Rzeczypospolitej. Hetmani koronni*, [List of hetmans of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Hetmans of the Crown], ed. by M. Nagielski, Warszawa 2005, p. 115-130.
- ²¹ A. Prochaska, *Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski*, Warszawa 1927; J. Besala, *Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski*, Warszawa 1988; L. Podhorodecki, *Stanisław Żółkiewski*, Warszawa 1988 and M. Nagielski, *Stanisław Żółkiewski herbu Lubicz (1547-1620) hetman wielki* [Stanisław Żółkiewski, arms of Lubicz (1547-1620) the Great Hetman], in: *Poczet hetmanów...* [List of hetmans...], p. 131-144.
- ²² I. Czamańska, *Rumuńska imigracja polityczna w Polsce XVII wieku* [Romanian Political Immigration in Poland in 17th Century], „Balcanica Posnaniensia”, vol. 6, Poznań 1993, p. 5-

Among the other category of works, which includes texts, discussing the socio-economic and political relationship of the region of the Danubian Principalities and the Black Sea in the period of interest to us, it is worth mentioning, for example, several positions that are most accessible to Polish researchers. These are the works of A. Dziubiński, H. Inalcik or Ch. King, mostly discussing economic issues²³, books, describing the structure of the Ottoman Empire²⁴ and, finally, a number of works, highlighting the political events preceding the Polish intervention in Moldavia or describing its effects and accompanying events or policies affecting the leading players in this region²⁵. The final chord of the Polish-Ottoman struggle for the influence in Moldavia, started with the 1595 intervention, was the expedition to Țuțora by Stanisław Żółkiewski and the defense of Chocim (Khotyn) in 1621. Literature, concerning these events, closes the considered by us problems²⁶.

22; I. Czamańska, *Wiśniowieccy. Monografia rodu* [Wiśniowieccy. The Monograph of the Family], Poznań 2007 (especially p. 113-127). In both works we can find more about the activity of Ieremia Movilă's daughters and his sons-in-law than *hospodar* himself.

²³ A. Dziubiński, *Na szlakach Orientu. Handel między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim w XVI-XVIII wieku* [On the routes of Orient. Trade of Poland and Ottoman Empire in 16th-18th century], Wrocław 1998; *Dzieje gospodarcze i społeczne imperium osmańskiego 1300-1914* [An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914], ed. by H. Inalcik, D. Quataert, Kraków 2008; Ch. King, *Dzieje Morza Czarnego* [Black Sea: A History], Warszawa 2006.

²⁴ J. Reychman, *Historia Turcji* [The History of Turkey], Wrocław 1973; *Sulejman Wspaniały i jego czasy. Imperium osmańskie we wczesnej epoce nowożytnej* [Süleyman the Magnificent and his Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World], red. M. Kunt i Ch. Woodhead, Wrocław 1998; H. Inalcik, *Imperium Osmańskie. Epoka klasyczna 1300-1600* [The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600], Kraków 2006; A. Decei, *Istoria Imperiului otoman pînă la 1656* [The History of the Ottoman Empire till 1656], București 1978.

²⁵ We can mention here following works: A.D. Xenopol, *Istoria Românilor din Dacia Traiană* [The History of Romanians from Traianus Dacia], vol. 5, București, without date; A. Dziubiński, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne polsko-tureckie w latach 1500-1572 w kontekście międzynarodowym* [Polish-Turkish diplomatic relations from 1500 to 1572 in the international context], Wrocław 2005; W.A. Serczyk, *Na dalekiej Ukrainie. Dzieje Kozaczyzny do 1648 roku* [On the far Ukraine. The History of Cossackdom till 1648], Kraków 2008; L. Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski i jego stosunki z Polską w XV-XVIII w.* [Crimean Khanate and its relationships with Poland in 15th-18th Centuries], Warszawa 1987; T. Górski, *Flotylle kozackie w służbie Jagiellonów i Wazów* [Cossack flotillas in the service of Jagiellons and Vasas], Gdańsk 2006.

²⁶ R. Majewski, *Cecora – rok 1620* [Țuțora – year 1620], Warszawa 1970; K. Śledziński, *Cecora 1620* [Țuțora 1620], Warszawa 2007; J. Tretiak, *Historja wojny chocimskiej* [The History of the Khotyn war], Kraków 1921; L. Podhorodecki, N. Raszba, *Wojna chocimska 1621* [The Khotyn war 1621], Kraków 1979; L. Podhorodecki, *Chocim 1621* [Khotyn 1621] Warszawa 1988; П. Сас, *Хотинська війна 1621 року* [The Khotyn war of 1621], Біла Церква 2012.

Polish – Turkish relations before 1593

After the subjugation of Moldavia by Suleyman the Magnificent in 1538, the country has become a Turkish buffer zone, separating them from the Christian Polish, and also a source of considerable income²⁷. However, the Poles tried to maintain their influence there, sometimes introducing to the throne friendly Hospodars - as in 1552 - and defending them, not always successfully, against the Turks (as in 1572)²⁸. At the turn of the 80s and 90s of the 16th century, the situation intensified. On the one hand, Moldavia increasingly felt the effects of the fiscal drain as destabilizing the internal situation of the country²⁹, on the other hand, the interventions of Zaporozhian Cossacks intensified in the Black Sea region. Only in 1589 they plundered and let go up in smoke the Tatar Kozłów (Gözleve) as far as the Turkish Ochakov, Belgorod and Tehinia (Tighina = Bendery)³⁰. In response to these acts the Horde entered Russia, coming to Lviv and bringing away captives. The activities of the two crown Hetmans - newly appointed field Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski and the great Hetman Jan Zamoyski – did not bring effects³¹. Polish activities were harmed by the

²⁷ About the status of Moldavia in Ottoman Empire see M. Maxim, *An Introduction to the Juridical-Legal Foundations of the Relations between the Ottoman Empire and the Romanian Principalities*, in: M. Maxim, *Romano-Ottomanica. Essays & Documents from the Turkish Archives*, "Analecta Isisiana", vol. 58, Istanbul 2001, p. 11-22; Idem, *Le statut des pays roumains envers la Porte Ottomane aux XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles* [The status of the Romanian countries towards the Ottoman Porte in 16th-18th centuries], *ibid.*, p. 23-45; V. Panaite, *Pace, război și comerț în Islam. Țările române și dreptul otoman al popoarelor (secolele XV-XVIII)* [Peace, war and trade in Islam. Romanian countries and the ottoman law of nations (15th-18th centuries)], București 1997, p. 278-283 and C.A. Bobicescu, *Unia...* [Union...], p. 220. About incomes from Moldavia see P.V. Sovetov, *Cît a costat Țării Moldovei dominația străină (forme economice de dependență a Moldovei în secolul al XVII-lea – începutul secolului al XVIII-lea)* [How much did it cost for Moldavia the foreign domination (economical forms of Moldvian dependence in the 17th century – at the beginning of 18th century)], „Revista de istorie a Moldovei”, A. 1, vol. 4, Chișinău 1990, p. 17-19; T. Gemil, *Românii și Otomanii în secolele XIV-XVI* [Romanians and Ottomans in the 14th-16th centuries], București 1991, p. 213-215.

²⁸ In 1552 Hetman Mikołaj Sieniawski helped to reach the throne to Aleksander Lăpușeanu, in 1572 Mikołaj Mielecki intervened when defending Aleksander's successor, Bogdan – see: D. Milewski, *Walka o tron moldawski w 1572 roku*, [The struggle for Moldavian throne in 1572], in: *Z dziejów wojskowości polskiej. Epoka staropolska – czasy zaborów – czasy najnowsze* [From the Polish military history. The Old Polish era – the period of dismemberments – the recent period], ed. by D. Milewski, Kraków 2011, p. 29-47.

²⁹ V. Constantinov, *Moldavia...* [Moldavia...], p. 10-12.

³⁰ A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 13 and T. Górski, *Flotylla...*, p. 132-133.

³¹ Żółkiewski successfully has gained back a part of the captives at Glina, Zamoyski, in his turn, organized a military demonstration at the Dniester and fought a victorious combat at the passage of Kamionka River – J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 81. Also see: M. Nagielski, *Stanisław Żółkiewski...*, p. 132 and S. Leśniewski, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 189.

insubordination of Princes Konstanty Ostrogski and Janusz Zbaraski, reluctant to Zamoyski. Meanwhile the grand Vizier Koca Sinan pasha requested tribute from Poland and began to build a bridge over the Danube³². The situation was so tense that Sejm, convened in March 1590, passed the high taxes on the military purposes, gave the appropriate powers to Hetmans in the event of an emergency, decided to appeal to the Cossacks and the Pope. Zamoyski wanted to take this opportunity to push through a pre-planned war of aggression against Turkey, which included, among others, the conquest of the Danubian Principalities, building the foreground for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth³³.

The war did not happen. Although the field Hetman Żółkiewski stood with the army in Bar to protect Russia from the Tatars³⁴, but artillery waggons were his only opponent. In Turkey, there was in fact another palace coup, which resulted in the loss of the office by the Grand Vizier Sinan pasha, while the English diplomacy, led by the Ambassador of Elizabeth I in Istanbul, Edward Burton, greatly helped to lead the Porte to renew the covenant with Rzeczpospolita³⁵. It was finalized by the royal secretary royal of the coat of arms Grzymala, Jan Zamoyski, in October 1591³⁶.

The Cossacks, however, were not wasting time and tried to overthrow the Moldavian Hospodar Petru, to enthrone Lazarus, the son of the former Moldavian Hospodar Ioan III cel Cumplit (John III the Terrible) - from which the Polish deputies shunned, blaming the Habsburgs, who encouraged Cossacks to attack Turkey. Meanwhile, in 1592, the Cossacks supported another Petru, a brother of the year ago

³² It was at the beginning of 1590; the Turks started to build a bridge in February 1590 – A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 14.

³³ Sejm took place from 8 of March to 21 of April 1590. More about Turkish requests, resolutions of Sejm and the offensive plans of J. Zamoyski see: Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 142, S. Grzybowski, *Jan Zamoyski*, p. 232–236, J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 82–83 and D. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish...*, p. 125.

³⁴ J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 82.

³⁵ England and Holland were in the spoken time in war with Spain, ruled by a member of the Habsburg dynasty, Philip II. Turkey was therefore a natural ally of England. Even more, the explosion of Turkish-Polish war could relate Rzeczpospolita with the Habsburgs, while England was interested in Polish grain, exported to the countries, fighting against Spain. This is the reason of the activities of English envoy, Edward Burton, which are in detail presented by: J.P. Niederkorn, *Die europäische...* [The European...], p. 111–114 and Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 142–143. Also see: F. Braudel, *Morze Śródziemne i świat śródziemnomorski w epoce Filipa II* [The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II] vol. 2, Warszawa 2004, p. 550–551, where, among others, Turkish policy are characterized in the background of the war with Persia, finished in 1590, and troubles with rebellions in Africa.

³⁶ Ahdname Murad III to Sigismund III, 10–18 October 1591, in: D. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish...*, No. 23, p. 289–293 (I quote English translations of the documents in this edition). Also see: Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 143.

imprisoned by the Turks in Moldavia Hospodar Aron. He has gained power for a period of time, but was quickly driven out by the Turks³⁷. For these actions, moreover, were hiding Jan Zamoyski and Sigismund III, who would like to see in the Hospodar of Moldavia a friend (in the years 1574-1591 it was Peter V the Lamé (Petru V Șchiopul))³⁸. And despite the fact that in January 1593 Sinan pasha came back to power in Turkey, it ended up at this time with the letter protests of Murad III³⁹. Turkey has already found another, more important direction of aggression. The war with the Habsburgs started⁴⁰.

Habsburgian endeavours for an alliance with Rzeczpospolita

The outbreak of the Ottoman-Habsburg War, Turkish put Rzeczpospolita in a difficult position because it had not perfect relations with both countries. Neutrality was difficult and unfavourable, as it meant giving up the opportunity to use the war of neighbours for achieving own objectives⁴¹. Mainly it was going about the rebuilding of influences in Moldavia, as Zamoyski has already thought at the time the Polish-Turkish crisis of 1590⁴². Now it seemed to be easier and soon became a necessity, due to developments in the region.

Turkish blow fell on the Hungarian possessions of the Habsburgs in the spring of 1593⁴³, however, the offensive has grown sluggishly. Imperial commanders had even two wins in field - at Sisak on June 22 and at Szekesfehervar on November 3. The Turks responded with getting two Hungarian fortresses - Veszprém and Palota - and laid out their army in winter quarters near Belgrade. They demanded support from their vassals for the next year's campaign: from Prince Sigismund Báthory of

³⁷ G. Ureche, *Letopisețul...* [The Chronicle...], p. 209-210. See: A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 15 and Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 143.

³⁸ C.A. Bobicescu, *Unia...* [Union...], p. 224; J. Demel, *Historia...* [The History...], p. 158.

³⁹ Murad III to Sigismund III, Istanbul, March or June 1593, in: I. Corfus, *Documente...* [Documents...], No. 195, p. 367-369. Sinan pasha came back to power on 29 January 1593 - T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen i wojskowości w Polsce* [The history of wars and the military in Poland], vol. 2, Lwów 1923, p. 109.

⁴⁰ The conflict started from border combats, the Turks declared the war after their defeat at Sisak and – as it was their common way of acting – imprisoned the imperial envoy, Friedrich von Krechwitz (J.P. Niederkorn, *Die europäische...* [The European...], p. 10; J. Szujski, *Dzieje Polski* [The History of Poland], vol. 3, Lwów 1864, p. 141; F. Braudel, *Morze...* [The Mediterranean...], vol. 2, p. 551-553; A. Decei, *Istoria...* [The History...], p. 262-299).

⁴¹ Among others, see: T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 109-110.

⁴² J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 83 and S. Grzybowski, *Jan Zamoyski*, p. 236.

⁴³ J.P. Niederkorn, *Die europäische...* [The European...], p. 10; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje panowania Zygmunta III* [The History of reign of Sigismund III], Warszawa 1819, p. 149-150; R. Murphey, *Ottoman warfare 1500-1700*, London 2001, p. 7; A. Decei, *Istoria...* [The History...], p. 265.

Transylvania and the Crimean Khan Gazi Giray II⁴⁴. Rudolf II was afraid and had to distract the Turks from the offensive to the Habsburg countries.

The Habsburgs began by persuading the Cossacks to attack Turkey, hoping to incite a war between it and Rzeczpospolita. In Zaporizhia appeared imperial emissaries, promising to the Lowlanders (as their main seat was situated in the lower part of the Dnieper river) military service pay, granting them imperial trumpets and banners, and calling for an attack on the Sultan property⁴⁵. They were led by Chłopicki, "the former bailiff of King Stefan⁴⁶," and now an outlaw, who reached his campaign to Moscow⁴⁷. Stanisław Żółkiewski decided to curtail his activities, captured him and transported to Krakow, but he managed to escape from prison and fled to Silesia⁴⁸. Meanwhile, the Cossacks, persuaded by him, led by Hryhoryi Loboda, attacked the city Jurgów near Belgorod during the fair, plundered it and then fled before the Turkish-Tatar-Moldavian pursuit⁴⁹.

The persuasion of the Cossacks to attack the Turkish property but did not cause the outbreak of the Polish-Turkish war, therefore other measures were employed. An imperial delegation went to Poland, mainly to get two things: first, to persuade Poland to not let through their territory of the Tatars, who have to go to Hungary and, secondly, to contract an alliance against Turkey⁵⁰. Because of the

⁴⁴ T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 109.

⁴⁵ A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 13 and J. Szujski, *Dzieje Polski* [The History of Poland], p. 142.

⁴⁶ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do r. 1594* [The History of Poland from Sigismund August's death till 1594], transl. by M. Gliszczyński, Petersburg 1857, p. 321.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 321.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, s. 321. About Chłopicki see: A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 15 and W.A. Serczyk, *Na dalekiej...* [On the far Ukraine...], p. 127-129.

⁴⁹ J. Zamoyski to H. Rozrażewski, the Bishop of Kujawy, Zamość, 12 January 1594, in: I. Corfus, *Documente...* [Documents...], No. 197, p. 375. There we can read: „Jego m. pan hetman polny dal mi znacze ze nie ze włości, ale z pustyń z samego Nizie kilka tysięcy Kozaków, między którymi snadź i Moskwa by miała być, wyszło i temi pustyniami idąc w miasteczko wołoskie Jurgów, które nie barzo daleko jest od Białogrodu i Tehini, w targ wpadli i ono splądrowali krepce, między którymi y Turcy beli, posiekli, potem około tegoż Jurgowa na kilka mil zagony rozpuściwszy popustoszyli i tak zaś *cum praeda* odeszli. Obawiać się tego trzeba, żeby poganin tego za *violationem pactorum* sobie nie brał” [“The Field Hetman has communicated to me that Cossacks have gone not from the Ukraine, but from the Nizh. Probably there are also Russians among them. They have passed deserted places directing to Moldavian small town Jurgów, which is not far away from Belgorod and Tighina. They have come into this town during fair and strongly plundered it. In this town were also Turks who have been killed by Cossacks. Then Cossacks plundered the area around the town in space of seven miles and then they left it with the spoils. We must be afraid that Turks can consider it as a break agreements”].

⁵⁰ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 321: „naprzód, żeby Tatarom przejścia przez Polskę do Węgier nie pozwalał [the Primate – D.M.] i powtóre, że dla

absence of King Sigismund III, who stayed in Sweden, where he had gone in the previous year, after the death of his father, John III⁵¹, the Primate Stanisław Karnkowski convened Senate on April 19, 1594, and there answers to the imperial delegates were formulated⁵². As it would be expected, the answer was non-committal. It was stated that without King there could not be negotiated on a possible alliance. As for the Tatars, it was confirmed that in case they will enter into the Rzeczpospolita, they would be opposed⁵³. Also at the occasion it was complained that the Cossacks are incited to attack Turkey⁵⁴. The Emperor felt fear about Turks, and the amount of this fear was demonstrated by the fact that on the occasion of the official delegation a special Habsburg envoy, Wacker, arrived with a letter from the Emperor to the biggest enemy of Habsburgs Rzeczpospolita, Hetman Jan Zamoyski⁵⁵. He convinced to ally for the sake of Christianity with the Emperor against the Ottomans. Zamoyski, however, was so angry that disposed to spare good advices: let the Emperor issued general battle against the Turks, prepare for it, hold a strong fleet at sea and haste agreements with Spain, Moscow and Persia for the common war⁵⁶. Zamoyski was in the position to use Turkish problems for his own sake and to attack it, because he saw the danger for Rzeczpospolita, coming for total control of Hungary by the Turks, but he was too experienced

zawarcia przymierza przeciwko Turcji z Polską” [„first, to not let Tatars come to Hungary through Poland and secondo, to contrach an alliance with Poland against Turkey”]; idem, *Vita...* [The Life...], p. 118.

⁵¹ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 320. Describing the event of 1593, Heidenstein writes: „Dnia 3 sierpnia wyjechał Król z Warszawy do Szwecji” [“The King has gone from Warsaw to Sweden on the August 3rd”]. This journey was described by S. Łubieński, *Droga do Szwecji Zygmunta III, króla polskiego i szwedzkiego, w 1593 roku* [The passage of Sigismund III, the King of Poland and Sweden, to Sweden in 1593], ed. by J. Byliński and W. Kaczorowski, Opole 2009. Also see: A. Śliwiński, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 310-311.

⁵² J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg kroniki polskiej* [The Continuation of the Polish Chronicle], Warszawa 1851, p. 212, as far as R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 321 – 322.

⁵³ R. Heidenstein, *Vita...* [The Life...], p. 118: „Responsum Legatis Caesariis, sine Rege nihil ordines statuere posse, de Tartaris, transitum illis prohibitum iri promissum” [“The answer to the imperial delegates is that the states of Poland cannot do anything without the King. The delegates have obtained a promission that Tatars will not get a free pass”].

⁵⁴ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 321: „zarazem żalono się na Chłopickiego i na kozaków, że się dają uwodzić podszeptom i szarpią kraje sprzymierzone z Polską, do czego ich podobno Cesarz nakłania” [“Poles complained in the same time that Chłopicki and Cossacks listen to advices and attack countries allied with Poland and supposedly the Emperor induces them to do it”].

⁵⁵ R. Heidenstein, *Vita...* [The Life], p. 118; also compare with: T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 110.

⁵⁶ T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 110 and A. Śliwiński, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 311-312.

statesman, to push the Republic to war, simply basing on the participation of the Habsburgs. And since the league of Christians against the Crescent was by no means expected, it was safer to keep the peace with the Sultan⁵⁷. Thus, at the same convocation of Senate, where imperial delegates were accepted, a response was given also to the present Turkish Chaush. He was asserted that friendly relations with the Sublime Porte will be preserved, and as far as the Cossacks, on taming of whom the Sultan insisted, were concerned, it was replied that indeed there is nothing to be guaranteed, but „polecone jednakże zostanie pogranicznym starostom, żeby ile będą mogli, trzymali Niżowców na wodzy” [“the Starostas on the border will obtain an order to – if they can do it - control the Cossacks”]⁵⁸. Traditionally, it was complained about the Tatar attacks⁵⁹.

The Tatars' pass to Hungary

Adoption by the Republic of expectant attitude, without getting involved in the Habsburg-Ottoman games, could not, however, give peace. The new Turkish offensive in Hungary, which had to be supported by the Tatar Horde, involved the neutral Poland⁶⁰.

Rumours of a possible march of the Tatars to Hungary through the lands of Rzeczpospolita began to reach Poland already in spring⁶¹. The warning came from the Moldavian Hospodar Aron, and even from Moscow could be something to hear about⁶². Zamoyski have to protect Russian lands against the Horde. He called for vigilance the Field Hetman, standing with few regular quarter troops to guard the border, and the governor of Bratslav, Janusz Zbaraski as far as the Starostas of Sanok, Sambor, Przemyśl and Stryj⁶³. He asked for help the Primate, hoping perhaps for more cash to enlist soldiers⁶⁴. Every rumour about coming invaders induced a true avalanche of universal communicates to the nobility to have on their guard⁶⁵. And yet there was not known which way to go the Horde has chosen. The secret services failed all along the whole line⁶⁶. Finally Żółkiewski stood with his troops in

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, s. 312; T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 110–111 and P. Gawron, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 26–29.

⁵⁸ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 322.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, s. 321–322 and J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 213.

⁶⁰ The Hungarian offensive, planned by the Turks in spring 1594, is discussed in: Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 144.

⁶¹ L. Podhorodecki, *Stanisław Żółkiewski*, p. 75–76 and J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 94–95.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 94 and 95 and L. Podhorodecki, *Stanisław Żółkiewski*, p. 75.

⁶³ J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 94–95. T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 111.

⁶⁴ A. Śliwiński, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 312–313.

⁶⁵ J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 95.

⁶⁶ Jewish were sent out to spy, and even boyar Koczanowski, trying to buy out his family from captivity in Belgorod (Akkerman), was trying to get any news, but all these efforts have

Chmielnik, watching the black trail, Zamoyski concentrated his forces near Gródek to start from there against the Horde if they will cross the borders of Rzeczpospolita⁶⁷. In April, it was already known that the Horde has passed the Dnieper, but which way they intended to go, remained, however, a mystery⁶⁸.

Meanwhile, the Tartars came up July 2, 1594, at Pokucie⁶⁹. They ran it quickly through, burning the towns: Śniatyń, Kołomyja, Obertyn, Gwoździec, Tyśmienica, Czesybiesy⁷⁰. The latter was defended by Jakub Potocki with a hundred horses, but when fire caught the castle and the gunpowder, which was gathered there, exploded, brave defenders broke through the line of the siege and fled from Horde⁷¹. July 7, Horde was already in Halych, which was defended by the governor of Bełż, Stanisław Włodek. He managed to get the Tatars to withdraw. Therefore they only plundered the neighbourhood area and went to Sambor⁷². Here, leading the regular quarter troops, Hetmans stood in their way. It was July 9, 1594, at the river Błażewka. Tatars, under the leadership of Khan Gazi Giray II, had almost three times outnumbered the Poles - there were probably about 25,000⁷³. Their goal was not a war with Poland, but only the passage to Hungary. Going through Russian territories they did not even take even captives. They were not going to fight at the moment, and because of it they used a war ruse – they dug in a forest, simulating the desire to fight next day – and slipped away under cover of night, rushing to Hungarian passages⁷⁴. Again, the chase was too late, only managed to tear down the rear guard of the Horde⁷⁵. It had good guides, including Polish nobleman – an outlaw⁷⁶. In this way, the Horde was in Hungary, and Zamoyski, who has reached the border and did not want to cross it, gave the signal to retreat⁷⁷. The failure was fulfilled by Khan's dashing letter, sent from Hungary to Zamoyski, demanding overdue “gifts” under the threat of returning to the Crimea through

failed. It is described by J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 95.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95. On Polish preparations to oppose the Horde in spring 1594 writes also J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje...* [The History...], p. 151, original sources are, however, better exposed by J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 215–216.

⁶⁹ See: L. Podhorodecki, *Stanisław Żółkiewski*, p. 76.

⁷⁰ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 322, J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 216.

⁷¹ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 216–217.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 217 and R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 322.

⁷³ See: L. Podhorodecki, *Stanisław Żółkiewski*, p. 76.

⁷⁴ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], s. 322–323. Hetmans were supported by voivodes: of Sandomierz, Jerzy Mniszech, and of Braclaw, Janusz Zbaraski. Heidenstein describes both the Tatar trick and gives the information about not taking captives.

⁷⁵ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 218. The same is also described by J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje...* [The History...], p. 151–152.

⁷⁶ This information is given by L. Podhorodecki, *Stanisław Żółkiewski*, p. 77.

⁷⁷ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 323.

Poland and the capture the Hetman⁷⁸.

After the embarrassment of the two Hetmans the country stormy raged⁷⁹. The enemies of Hetman accused him that he took a bribe from the Tatars and let them slip away. It was feared that the brother of Khan, left in the Crimea, would attack Ukraine, when the Khan will go back from Hungary⁸⁰. Zamoyski seemed to be not worried about these accusations, but he wanted to clear the situation and try to protect the Republic before the expected return of the Horde from Hungary in spring⁸¹. So he sent messengers with letters to the King Sigismund III, who at the time he returned from Sweden⁸². He prepared the ground before the Sejm, planned at carnival 1595, and did not allow dissolving the army, which he left to guard the Beskid Mountain passes for protection against the Horde. Even more, he decided to take a bold plan to impact on virtually stripped from the army and defenceless Crimea⁸³. Meanwhile, soon a radical change in the situation of the lands south of the borders of the Republic happened, which was rather caused by political games than military decisions.

The offensive of the Habsburg diplomacy in 1594–1595

Habsburg diplomacy tried to implement new measures and has made every effort to weaken the Turkish giant. The try to entangle it in a war with Rzeczpospolita by provocation of the Cossacks in the autumn of 1593 burned to nothing. The same effect was produced by exceptional efforts to conclude a formal alliance with Krakow. Even the painful march of the Horde in July 1594 through the Red Ruthenia failed to persuade Poland for immediate attack⁸⁴. However, while the Crimean Khan was a faithful vassal and ally of Padishah, whereas other his vassals did not follow his footsteps.

⁷⁸ L. Podhorodecki, *Stanisław Żółkiewski*, p. 77. On the campaign against Tatars in 1594 also see: L. Podhorodecki, *Chanat krymski* [Crimean Khanate], p. 123-124 and M. Nagielski, *Stanisław Żółkiewski...*, p. 133.

⁷⁹ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 323; J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 96 and P. Gawron, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 30.

⁸⁰ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 323 and J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje...* [The History...], p. 152.

⁸¹ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 323; the plans of effective defense against the Horde in the future are presented by J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 218–220. Also see: P. Gawron, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 30-31.

⁸² They were Jan Szczesny Herbut and Reinhold Heidenstein – R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...*, [The History of Poland...], p. 324; F. Bohomolec, *Życie...* [The Life...], p. 142.

⁸³ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 324–325.

⁸⁴ The same problem is raised by the priest J. Sas, *Wyprawa...* [Campaign...], p. 74–89.

In August 1594, Rudolf II managed to get the Moldavian Hospodar Aron to recognize his country as part of the Roman Empire⁸⁵. It was a hostile move, not only against Turkey, but also of the Republic, which also claimed the right to Moldavia. The Habsburgs, however, steadfastly followed in the chosen direction, seeking to drag on their side and take their "care" of the Christian vassals of Murat III⁸⁶. A key role played here the Transylvanian principality, which remain in the hands of an irresponsible nephew of Stefan Báthory, King Sigismund. He betrayed the Sultan in 1594 for the Roman Emperor, married a princess from the house of Habsburgs and signed a treaty in Prague on Jan. 28, 1595, which foresaw, among others, that his duchy could be taken by the Emperor in the event of his death or the resignation from Transylvania⁸⁷. As a vassal of the Habsburgs Sigismund Báthory now claimed the right to sovereignty over the Danube principalities. Being in a difficult situation, both Hospodars agreed to his request⁸⁸.

Moldavia survived the Cossack invasion in autumn 1594. It was indirectly connected with the Polish plans for an attack on the Crimea. On their own, but with the tacit approval of Zamoyski, the governor of Śniatyń, Mikołaj Jazłowiecki, undertook this expedition. After the agreement with the Cossacks, he went to Belgorod. However, the Cossacks chose to take the spoils, but not to fight and abandoned the governor, who barely escaped back to the borders of the Republic⁸⁹. Cossacks, again incited by Chłopicki, who gave them the imperial flags, burst into Moldavia and burned Tehinia. Hospodar Aron did not remain indifferent and, allied with the Turks, drove the attackers⁹⁰. They have returned in greater strength in November, led by Hryhoryi Loboda. They captured and burned Iași and Suceava, plundered the treasures of Hospodar, who had to run away, and returned with the

⁸⁵ A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 15.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁷ L. Bazyłow, *Siedmiogród...* [Transylvania...], p. 79–82; V. Ciobanu, *La cumpănă...* [On a scale...], p. 99–101; I. Horn, *Andrzej Batory*, Warszawa 2010, p. 209–214. At this occasion Sigismund Báthory got rid of oppositional Transylvanian magnates with the brother of his uncle, Balthazar – see: R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 325–326.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 326; L. Bazyłow, *Siedmiogród...* [Transylvania...], p. 81; V. Constantinov, *Moldawia...* [Moldavia...], p. 12–13.

⁸⁹ On the expedition of Mikołaj Jazłowiecki: R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 326 and J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 224–225.

⁹⁰ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 225, writes about it: „było [Kozaków – D.M.] jako powiadają do dwunastcie tysięcy, i szli do Wołoch. Nad któremi był hetmanem Łoboda i Nalewajko porucznikiem. Mieli wszystkich chorągwi do czterdzieści: a na dwu były orły cesarskie. Potym wołoską ziemię zawojowawszy, i Aarona Hospodara wygnawszy szli ku Tehiniey. Tamże znowu hospodar złączywszy się z Multany i z Turki wyparł je” [The Cossacks were – as they say – about twelve thousand men and they were going to Moldavia. Their hetman was Łoboda and Nalewajko was lieutenant. They had about forty banners and two of them had imperial eagles. After conquest of Moldavia and banishing Hospodar Aron from the country, they were coming to Tighina. Hospodar had joined there Turks and has expelled Cossacks”].

spoils to Bar⁹¹. In their turn, pressed by Żółkiewski, they returned to Moldavia, where they allied with the Hospodar Aron, recently robbed by them. He tried to use them to rebound from the hands of the Turks Belgorod, was, however, beaten and escaped, while his army dissolved⁹². Already in February 1595 he sent letters to the Hetman Żółkiewski, begging for help from the Tatars⁹³. In this desperate situation Sigismund Báthory decided to take advantage and to win Moldavia, which was promised him by the Emperor.

The Sejm of 1595 and rebels in Moldavia

Tatars did not return from Hungary to the Crimea, passing Polish lands, as it expected, because they preferred not to expose their gains in a fight against Polish troops, guarding the borders. Therefore Zamoyski left in January 1595 his camp in Lasków and followed to Krakow on Sejm⁹⁴.

It began on 7 February and was held in an atmosphere of war, caused by the recent Turkish victories in Hungary⁹⁵ and rebels in Moldavia. Delegates from neighbouring countries appeared here - imperial Pawłowski, Bishop of Olomouc and Vaclav Berka⁹⁶, the Speaker of Czech, the Papal nuncio Germanicus Malaspina, and the envoys from Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia. They all sought for Polish help in the fight against the Turkey⁹⁷. However, they committed a mistake, coming only at the end of the Sejm and losing the opportunity to use the initially favourable sentiment for the league that prevailed among the senators.⁹⁸

⁹¹ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 327; both Cossack expeditions to Moldavia in autumn 1594 are discussed by: A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 16 and W.A. Serczyk, *Na dalekiej...* [On the far Ukraine...], p. 131-132.

⁹² J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 229. Also see: A. Prochaska, *Hetman...*, p. 16 and W.A. Serczyk, *Na dalekiej...* [On the far Ukraine...], p. 132.

⁹³ J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 97.

⁹⁴ On the Tatar resignation to cross Poland on their way back to the Crimea and their march through Sultanian countries and Polish preparations to oppose them see: J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 223-224, R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 327-328, also J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje...* [The History...], p. 154-155.

⁹⁵ The Turks conquered Raab, also named Jawaryn, on 17 November 1594 – see: J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 221-223 and R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 327.

⁹⁶ P. Piasecki, *Kronika* [The Chronicle], p. 125.

⁹⁷ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 227, R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 329.

⁹⁸ At the beginning the league was appreciated by J. Zamoyski as far as Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł and Krakowian Starosta, Prince Janusz Ostrogski – see: J. Rzońca, *Rzeczpospolita...* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth...], p. 17-18.

The delegates of the Emperor, who in the name of Hospodar Aron complained about Cossack attacks, it was answered with a blame of inciting these Cossacks. They replied that the Emperor was misled by Chłopicki, who allegedly told him that the Cossacks are not tied with Rzeczpospolita⁹⁹.

After this initial exchange of mutual allegations, Sejm passed to the most important case, around which „nuncjusz papieski Malaspina żywo się krzątał”¹⁰⁰ ("the papal nuncio Malaspina lively bustled"), namely, to the discussion of the draft anti-Turkish league with the Emperor. Zamoyski advised at first „opatrzyć Rzplite w wojsko i pieniądze, postawić ją na stopie groźnej powagi i wtedy dopiero albo wejść w przymierze z Cesarzem, albo własnymi siłami pomścić się na Turkach, Tatarach i Kozakach, za rozbójnicze napady i zniszczenia”¹⁰¹ ("to supply the Commonwealth with troops and money, put it on the rate of serious seriousness and only then either enter into an alliance with the Emperor, or to avenge the Turks, Tatars and Cossacks with own forces, for extortion attacks and destruction"). From the imperial delegates there was demanded to enter real obligations, they, however, promised only general things, and because of it the case was sent to the Senat commission¹⁰².

Polish commissioners demanded from the Emperor great military support, money to pay the troops, and to grant Poland all possible rights to the Danubian Principalities¹⁰³. For the latter the bishop of Olomouc was especially keen, the more confident the Emperor strengthened his influence there¹⁰⁴. An issue of Archduke Maximilian also came out again, as he has not yet sworn the treaties of Będzin-Bytom. Commission spent time on arid debates, what in fact was liked by imperial envoy, but it was not the taste of Poles, and finally it was found out that without reference to the Emperor the envoy cannot make any certain promises, and even his master must first consult the states of the Empire¹⁰⁵. The Sejm ended, and in the case of an alliance there were no certain postulates accepted. It was only agreed that, in the

⁹⁹ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 329.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, s. 329.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, s. 329. Heidenstein, in his turn, names the following members of the commission: Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, the Bishop of Kujawy Hieronim Rozrażewski, the Bishop of Przemyśl Wawrzyniec Goślicki, the Bishop of Łuck Bernard Maciejowski, the Krakowian Starosta, Prince Janusz Ostrogski, the Krakovian Voivode Mikołaj Firlej, the Voivode of Lublin Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the Voivode of Trakai Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, the Crown Chancellor Jan Zamoyski and the Lithuanian Chancellor Lew Sapieha.

¹⁰³ It was going about 80,000 soldiers – R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 330–333 presents Polish claims; also see: W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej* [The History of Modern Poland], vol. 1, Warszawa 1986, p. 183.

¹⁰⁴ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 334.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 333. It is worth to add that the fact that the Emperor granted leadership in Hungary to the Archduke Maximilian changed the Polish approach towards the planned league – J. Rzońca, *Rzeczpospolita...* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth...], p. 18.

case of the final approval of the Polish conditions by Rudolf II, Sigismund III would convene an extraordinary Sejm, which will ratify the alliance¹⁰⁶.

Zamoyski, seeing that the negotiations with the Habsburgs lead to nothing, presented his plan to strike at the Tartars with own efforts and to determine the political and military complications south of the Polish border in accordance with the interests of Rzeczpospolita¹⁰⁷. This project made King Sigismund III, who insisted that as much army as possible would be enlisted from the taxes, passed at the Sejm, and even has committed a large sum of borrowed money for this purpose and gave it to the Hetman¹⁰⁸. Taxes came in slowly, and there were also problems their passing. Volhynian delegates, although mainly in their interest the expedition against Tatars was organized, did not consent to the collection of taxes. Also Lithuanians protested, and the Wielkopolska delegates advised at after-Sejm assemblies to call a general levee en masse rather than to raise taxes on army. This was explained by the influence of the Primate Karnkowski, who belonged to the group of opponents of military action against Turkey, and has even published a deliberate brochure "Festina lente", containing a collection of arguments against breaking peace with the Sultan¹⁰⁹.

Meanwhile it just had to be hurried, because the accidents of rebels against the Sultan in the principalities began to take place ever faster. Sigismund Báthory, preparing to launch an offensive against the Turks, wanted to be safe from the Moldavian side and decided to get rid of the reigning there Hospodar Aron, and to enthrone in Iași his own supporter and to consolidate his influence in this principality. He aroused a certain Stefan Razvan, half-gypsy, half-Wallachian, who had served under King Stefan Báthory, and now he was a mercenary commander of the army of Hospodar Aron, the army was composed almost entirely from Hungarians. This treacherously captured Aron, restrained him in shackles, sent with his family to Transylvania, while Razvan sat on the Hospodar throne and accepted the sovereignty of Sigismund Báthory over himself¹¹⁰.

¹⁰⁶ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 228; R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 336. About the negotiations also see: J. Macurek, *Zápas...* [The Struggle...], p. 44-52; P. Gawron, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 31-32 and A. Barwicka, *Rzeczpospolita...* [The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth...], p. 301-302.

¹⁰⁷ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 338: „Tak się skończył Sejm – przymierza [with the Emperor – D.M.] nie zawarto i wrócono znowu do zdania Zamojskiego, żeby wojnę zaczępną przenieść w kraje tatarskie” [„So the Diet was finished. The alliance was not concluded and everyone has returned again to the Zamoyski's opinion to transfer the offensive war to Tatar countries”]

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

¹⁰⁹ All these problems are described by R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 338–339, as far as W. Konopczyński, *Dzieje...* [The History...], p. 183. In total, from the Sejm of 1595 to the next one in 1597 the Kingdom collected taxes in sum of 470,008 zloties – see: A. Filipczak-Kocur, *Skarbowość...* [The Finance...], p. 88-89.

¹¹⁰ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 340–341 and M. Costin,

This was already too much for the Turks. As soon the inner situation stabilized after the death of Sultan Murat III - what has been reported during the Sejm of Rzeczpospolita¹¹¹ - and the enthronement of his son Mehmed III, which was related, normally in such cases, with the slaughter of Sultan brothers and uncomfortable dignitaries, the Turks took the pacification plan against the rebellious principalities¹¹². It was intended to remove the rebellious princes. After overthrow of Michael the Brave Wallachian ruler has to become the Turkish favorite Bogdan, in Moldavia it was intended to completely remove the remains of independence and to turn it into ordinary Turkish province. Its Beylerbey was supposed to be the Sanjak-bey of Tehinia, Ahmed pasha. This task was set Sinan pasha, who had to tame Wallachia and Transylvania, and the Tartar Khan, whose nephew Ahmed pasha was, and who had to master Moldavia¹¹³.

The threat of the Turks, seated in Moldavia, just over the borders of the Republic, caused understandable concern in Poland¹¹⁴. Mikołaj Jazłowiecki advised King Sigismund III to master Khotyn, a Moldavian frontier fortress, which the King accepted¹¹⁵. Cossacks also were sent to Moldavia, but they were beaten at Tehinia¹¹⁶. It had to be more relied on the soldiers, who were gathered under the command of the Hetman. His army was not great in number. Sigismund III sent 1000 soldiers to the Hetman from the royal guard, but the Hetman, guarding Rzeczpospolita from sudden attack, had to leave in 1000 riders under the command of Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, the governor of Lublin. He stood between Krakow and the main army, which in force

Latopis... [The Chronicle...], p. 102-103. Also see: V. Ciobanu, *La cumpănă...* [On a scale...], p. 105. About Stefan Razvan (in Rumunian: Ștefan Răzvan) see: Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 145 and D. Dragnev, E. Baidaus, G. Bodeanu, *Domnii Țării Moldovei: studii*, [The Hospodars of Moldavia: studies], Chișinău 2005, p. 143 (entrance: Ștefan Răzvan).

¹¹¹ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 229 writes: „Na tenże sejm przyszła nowina o śmierci cesarza tureckiego Amurata na którego miejsce był obran Mahomet syn jego” [“The news have come on this Diet about death of Turkish Sultan Murad, who was replaced by his son, Mehmed”].

¹¹² The enthronement of Mehmed III is described by J.U. Niemcewicz, *Dzieje...* [The History...], p. 159 and H. Inalcik, *Imperium Osmańskie* [The Ottoman Empire], p. 72-74. The new Sultan ordered to kill his nineteen brothers. On Turkish plans against rebellious principalities see: T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 112; Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 145-146; A. Decei, *Istoria...* [The History...], p. 271-272.

¹¹³ M. Costin, *Latopis...* [The Chronicle...], p. 104; Müneğğimbaşı, *Sahaif ül-ahbar* [The Clear of Greats], in: M. Guboglu, *Cronici turcești...* [Turkish chronicles...], p. 258. Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 146.

¹¹⁴ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 342.

¹¹⁵ Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 146; P. Gawron, *Hetman koronny...* [The Crown hetman...], p. 109.

¹¹⁶ Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 146.

of 5,000 riders and 1,000 infantry gathered in Mogilnica near Trembowla¹¹⁷. The Hetman also stood there on 12 July 1595¹¹⁸.

The situation before entering Moldavia

August 9, 1595, the Perkulab (Rom. "Pârcălab") of Suceava came to the camp of Zamoyski with the news that Sinan pasha burst at the head of a strong army to Wallachia and crossed the Danube, what Michael the Brave was not able to prevent. At the same time he asked on behalf of the Hospodar Stefan Razvan for help¹¹⁹. Zamoyski did not intend to provide any help, without having certain knowledge of the Tatars. The situation was becoming more and more complicated, what was clear for the Hetman¹²⁰. He feared that after the occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia Turks will take Khotyn and tempt to Kamianets-Podilskyi (in Polish: Kamienec Podolski), and in the case of the defeat of Transylvania they will threaten the Russian lands of the Crown¹²¹.

Meanwhile, on August 15 arrived at the camp a Cossack, sent to scout, and reported that the Tartars crossed the Dnieper¹²². So the Hetman moved the army towards Kamianets in order to be closer to the ground for future action and, if the Tatars would try to fall within the boundaries of Rzeczpospolita, stand on their way¹²³. Gradually he obtained more information about the movements of the Horde. The Perkulab of Soroca sent a message that Tatars have crossed the river Dnieper near Belgorod. On 21 August the Perkulab came to the Hetman, asking on behalf of Hospodar Razvan for help against the Turks. Zamoyski refused, advising Hospodar to retreat to Transylvania, if his army is low in number. He declared to guard the Dniester and the borders of Rzeczpospolita¹²⁴. Having lost hope for Polish assistance, Stefan Razvan fled with his indeed small army from the Turks to Transylvania. Moldavia was left without any protection, army or ruler¹²⁵. Only in the castle of Khotyn a Hungarian crew was in a force of 200 people was left, but they were not opponents for the Turks¹²⁶.

¹¹⁷ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 339–340.

¹¹⁸ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 232.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

¹²⁰ The situation before Zamoyski's entrance into Moldavia is described by J. Macurek, *Zápas...* [The Struggle...], p. 74–76.

¹²¹ T. Korzon, *Dzieje wojen...* [The history of wars...], p. 112–113.

¹²² J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 236.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 236.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 236–237.

¹²⁵ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 344.

¹²⁶ „W Chocimiu jak mówiłem stało załogą 200 Węgrów, a więc żadnego oporu nie mogli dać Turkom” [“As I said there was a crew of 200 Hungarians in Khotyn, so they could not resist Turks at all”] – *ibid.*, p. 344.

Zamoyski had now to decide how to proceed. His planned expedition to the Crimea had to be abandoned due to scarcity of the army, which he disposed of, and the unwillingness of Cossacks to co-operate with the Hetman¹²⁷. To stay on the Dniester meant to give the initiative in the hands of the Turks. This would allow them to conquer Moldavia and beat Transylvania. In that the entire southern border of Poland would be threatened. In the event of a disaster the Turks, the Habsburgs would increase in power. Polish neutrality would be tantamount to consent to waive any claim to the Danubian Principalities, especially to Moldavia. For Zamoyski it was unacceptable. Also the closer threat would not be forgotten – if the Turks would take Moldavia, the Tatars would have an open way to cross Polish borders¹²⁸.

To remain in Kamianets and watch accidents over the Dniester seemed to bring any benefits neither for Zamoyski nor for Rzeczpospolita. On the contrary - the neutrality in this situation would lead to heavy defeat. It was necessary to avoid the seizure of Moldavia by the Tatars. Although the Cossacks refused to help, claiming for the pay, which could not have been paid them because of lack of financial sources - the Hetman also felt that they should rather ask for forgiveness for arbitrary expeditions to Moldavia, but not for the pay, which they have taken themselves, robbing Iași the previous year, this accusation lessened their enthusiasm¹²⁹ - but

¹²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 342. See: D. Skorupa, *Stosunki...* [Polish-Tatars relationships...], p. 61.

¹²⁸ See: R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 341–343 (among other things, he writes: „Skoro by Turcy Mołdawiją zajęli, wtedy Podole i Ruś znowuby spustoszyli, bo podług ich zdania, byle tylko twierdz żadnych nie zabierać, nie gwałci się przymierza, jeżeli się niszczy lub pali. W obecném zaś położeniu rzeczy można było przewidzieć, że konieczność sama zmusi ich do napadu na granice Polski, bo Mołdawja wojnami zniszczona, żadnych zasobów żywności nie miała” [“If Turks take over Moldavia, they would devastate again Podole and Ruthenia because they state that the agreement is not broken, even if you devastate or burn country, when you do not take any castles. In present situation you might foresee that the necessity itself will force them to attack Polish borders, because Moldavia was devastated by wars and had not any food resources”] – p. 342). The anti-Habsburgian connotations of the actions of J. Zamoyski are stressed by Л.Е. Семенова, *Княжества Валахия и Молдавия. Конец XIV – начало XIX в. Очерки внешнеполитической истории* [The Principalities Wallachia and Moldavia. The end of 14th – the beginning of 19th century. Studies of external political history], Москва 2006, p. 169-170.

¹²⁹ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 342, writes: „Zamoyski chciał koniecznie wciągnąć kozaków do wojny, posłańca zatrzymał [który doniósł mu był o przejściu przez ordę Dniestru – przyp. D.M.], a do nich napisał, że właśnie mają sposobność prześlągnięcia Króla i Stanów. Kozacy nie bardzo ufali i żołdu się domagali. Odpowiedział im Zamoyski, że nie o żołd tu idzie, a na przebaczenie wprzód trzeba zarobić. Nic tedy nie zrobiono” [“Zamoyski absolutely wanted to draw Cossacks to war. He has kept a messenger [who had brought him an information about crossing of the Dniester by Tatars – D.M.], and has written to Cossacks that they already had an opportunity to appease the King and the States. The Cossacks did not trust him and they

Zamoyski thought that the very news of his invasion to Moldavia would mix the Turks and delay their actions. He also supposed that the army, though few in number, but decked and well armed, would be exaggerated in stories, as it usually is, and such hyperbolized news will reach the enemy¹³⁰.

Zamoyski had to consider and prepare a project is not only military but also politically. He did not intend to interfere in the interests of Moldavia because of the pro-Habsburgian Razvan. If, however, he left the country, it seemed to better to use this opportunity and, not exposing to the Habsburgs formally - what would happen if Zamoyski tried to remove their vassal Razvan - put a stop to their snares to Moldavia, on the occasion to stop the Turks and stretch the Polish influence over the country. Rzeczpospolita and Zamoyski became the proverbial "third" player, who had the advantage in fighting two enemies - the Habsburgs and the Turks. There should only be found a suitable candidate for the throne of Hospodar from grace and on behalf of the Commonwealth, and having found a convenient excuse, he had to enter Moldavia and forestall the Tatars in its mastering¹³¹.

It must be admitted that the decision of the Hetman to invade Moldavia was a brave and independent at the same time. During the councils of the Senate, completed in the summer and autumn of 1595, the King and his advisers occupied various positions. While in June, when considered possible military cooperation with Stefan Razvan, King left the decision to Zamoyski, whereas in July supported the opponents of intervention, which included Primate Stanisław Karnkowski and the castellan of Krakow, Prince Janusz Ostrogski. In the spoken time Sigismund III feared the war with Turkey. But when the Hetman has already taken Moldavia, in autumn is the same royal council decided that Hetman has to stay there to secure Polish influences. He also was taken in defence because of the Pope's accusations of collaboration with the Turks, arguing that it is the Hetman who saved Moldavia before the Ottoman conquest. It thus appears that bold actions of Zamoyski met with approval, if they brought success¹³².

demanded their soldier's pay. Zamoyski answered them that it is not intent on their soldier's pay, but they have to deserve a forgiveness first. So nothing was done"].

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

¹³¹ The decision to intervene Moldavia was taken by Zamoyski after a council with senators, present in his camp, what is mentioned by R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 343. It is interesting that the papal nuncio Germanicus Malaspina was encouraging Poles to act, counting that these actions would cause Polish-Turkish war and the creation of the anti-Ottoman League; this fact is marked by J. Macurek, *Zápas...* [The Struggle...], p. 77. Such move of the nuncio was not without influence in the polemic with the Habsburgs – another side of the story is that the Poles went to the expedition, pursuing their own, not papal, interests.

¹³² P. Gawron, *Hetman koronny...* [The Crown hetman...], p. 338-339. The aversion of Prince J. Ostrogski to the actions of J. Zamoyski in Moldavia emerged from his pro-Habsburgian sympathies – see: T. Kempa, *Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ok. 1524/1525-1608), wojewoda*

The Polish entrance to Moldavia

The crossing of the Dniester was begun by the Field Hetman Żółkiewski on August 27, 1595¹³³. Due to low water the army went over the river by swimming. Three days later it was crossed by the Great Hetman, who the same time sent a messenger to Sinan pasha. He asserted that he will not break the peace with Turkey, but he forbids stepping into Moldavia, which should not be a Turkish province¹³⁴. At the same time he called the Prince of Transylvania on behalf of Rzeczpospolita to restore to the throne of Moldavia the trapped Aron¹³⁵.

Zamoyski collected the whole army on the territory of Moldavia and divided it into five regiments, whose leaders were: Jan Potocki, the Starosta of Kamianets, Stanisław Żółkiewski, Stanisław Gulski, the Castellan of Halicz, Stanisław Przerębski and the Hetman in own person¹³⁶. The Hungarian crew under the pressure of the local population left Khotyn and retreated to Transylvania¹³⁷. Against Razvan, who tried to oppose in fight, Zamoyski sent Gulski with five hundred horses - two hundred hussars and three hundred Cossacks. He attacked Razvan, who escaped from Iași and stood with a thousand of Hungarian infantry at Płoniny, awaiting reinforcements from Transylvania. However, he did not dare to face the Poles and fled to Sigismund Báthory, when he heard about Gulski¹³⁸.

On 31 August Zamoyski stood with the army at the Prut River, where he was greeted by Moldavian boyars delegation, asking to appoint for them a Hospodar¹³⁹. Hetman had in his camp two great boyars: Luca Stroici, the former Treasurer of

kijowski i marszałek ziemi wołyńskiej [Konstanty Wasyl Ostrogski (ca. 1524/1525-1608), the voivode of Kiev and marshal of Volhynia], Toruń 1997, p. 212-215.

¹³³ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 238.

¹³⁴ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 343-344.

¹³⁵ See: A. Prochaska, *Hetman...* [Hetman...], p. 17-18.

¹³⁶ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 238.

¹³⁷ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 344.

¹³⁸ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 241. He writes: „[Rozwan] z Jass uchodząc okopał się był pod Płoninami w lesie: mając Węgrów piechoty do tysiąca, usarzów trzysta, a kozaków Polaków pięćdziesiąt i więcej się ludzi spodziewał mieć od siedmiogrodzkiego, do którego o pomoc pisał. O czym gdy wziął sprawę dostateczną hetman, posłał tam dwieście usarzów, a trzysta kozaków z Blinstruba o dwu koń: nad którym ludem Gulski był starszym. Lecz skoro posłyszał o naszych ludziach Rozwan, poszedł precz w góry: a potym do siedmiogrodzkiej ziemie ustąpił” [When Razvan was escaping from Iași, he made a trench near Płoniny in the forest. He had a thousand Hungarian infantry, three hundred hussars and fifty Polish cossacks. He also expected more people from the Prince of Transylvania, whom he was writing to asking him for help. When Hetman had got to know it well, he has sent two hundred hussars and three hundred cossacks of Blinstrub there: their commander was Gulski. But when Razvan heard about our men, he escaped in mountains: and then he retreated to Transylvania”].

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

Petru V the Lamé, and Ieremia Movilă, the Marshal of the same Hospodar. Both fled with their ruler to Poland when escaping from the Turks. Zamoyski chose Movilă and recommended him to the boyars¹⁴⁰. Mohyla was a supporter of the Republic and encouraged the Catholic Church, even more, since 1593 he was a Polish indigene (a title, given for foreigners, acknowledging them as native nobles). He was an ideal candidate for Hospodar. Boyars chose him to the throne. It happened on September 4, after the Poles crossed the Prut, at Stepanowce (Ștefănești). There were sent letters, urging the Moldavian nobility to come to Iași to welcome the new ruler¹⁴¹.

He took the oath of allegiance to Rzeczpospolita. The ceremony was held in a closed tent in the presence of both Hetmans and Szczęsny Herburt. It had its reasons. Movilă loathed, besides the usual assurances of fidelity, the conditions that could appear to Moldavians at least unpleasant, namely the tolerance for Catholic faith and confinement to the dignity of ordinary Polish Voivoda in the event that Moldavia was directly incorporated into Rzeczpospolita¹⁴².

It is evident that Zamoyski wanted to establish permanent Polish influence in Moldavia, and if he could, to add it to the Crown as a normal state¹⁴³! This would provide a huge political and military benefit for Rzeczpospolita, as it would in fact cut the Crimean Khanate from the Turkish provinces, and the Turkey itself would be far removed from the Russian lands of the Crown. Moldavia would become a bastion of influence of Rzeczpospolita, which would shatter Turkish sovereignty in the nearby regions. It was clear that this plan was not acceptable for Turkey.

¹⁴⁰ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 345. Also see: N. Stoicescu, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara Românească și Moldova, sec. XIV-XVII*, [Dictionary of great dignitaries of Wallachia and Moldavia, 14th-17th centuries], București 1971, p. 318-319, entrance: Movilă Ieremia; p. 326-327, entrance: Stroici Luca (Lupu).

¹⁴¹ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 239. The consitution of the Sejm of 1593 „Indigenatus panów wołoskich” [The indigene of Moldavian nobles], in: *Volumina Legum* [The Books of Laws], ed. by J. Ohryzko, vol. 2, Petersburg 1859, p. 345. *Diariusz Pawła Piaskowskiego* [Paweł Piaskowski's Diary] in: J. Jasnowski, *Dwie relacje z wyprawy Zamoyskiego pod Cecorę w 1595 r.*, [Two relations about Zamoyski's campaign at Țuțora in 1595], „Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy”, 1938, vol. 10, z. 2, p. 243. J. Bielski dates the naming of Ieremia Movilă on 1 September 1595, but the information of the naming of the Hospodar by J. Zamoyski is more precise presented by P. Piaskowski, stating it on 4 September. See: P. Gawron, *Jan Zamoyski...*, p. 34.

¹⁴² R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 345. The oath of Ieremia Movilă and boyars, Iași, 27 August [5 September] 1595, in: E. Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare...* [Documents...], supl. 2, vol. 1, No. CLXXVI, p. 344-345.

¹⁴³ This flow of facts is asserted also by: J. Besala, *Hetman...*, p. 98.

Temporarily, however, it could not be effective, because Sinan pasha was defeated in Wallachia by Michael the Brave in battle at Călugăreni (on 25 August)¹⁴⁴. Although Michael himself has not won much, the Turkish forces were in fact of sufficient advantage to force him to withdraw to Transylvania. But Sinan pasha was unable to put an end with Michael and supporting him Sigismund Báthory, and definitely could not afford to catch the Poles. For the successful settlement of both of these things he needed the Tatar help¹⁴⁵.

¹⁴⁴ J. Bielski, *Dalszy ciąg...* [The Continuation...], p. 241; Müneğgimbaş, *Sahaif ül-ahbar* [The Clear of Greats], in: M. Guboglu, *Cronici turcești...* [Turkish chronicles...], p. 258-259; Z. Spieralski, *Awantury...* [Moldavian rows], p. 147; A.D. Xenopol, *Istoria...* [The History...], vol. 5, p. 160-165; A. Decei, *Istoria...* [The History...], p. 275-276; idem, *Relațiile lui Mihai Viteazul cu Imperiul Otoman* [Relations of Michael the Brave with Ottoman Empire] in: idem, *Relații româno-orientale. Culegere de studii* [Romanian-oriental relations. Collection of studies], București 1978, p. 226; Ș. Ștefănescu, *Mihai Viteazul. Între „Respublica Christiana” și monarhia absolută* [Michael the Brave. Between “Respublica Christiana” and an absolute monarchy], in: *Istoria României. Pagini Transilvane* [The History of Romania. Transylvanian Pages], ed. by D. Berindei, Cluj-Napoca 1994, p. 85.

¹⁴⁵ R. Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski...* [The History of Poland...], p. 348-349; A. Decei, *Istoria...* [The History...], p. 277-278.

**ИНСТИТУЦИОНАЛИЗАЦИЯ ДИПЛОМАТИЧЕСКОЙ СЛУЖБЫ
ЕВРОПЕЙСКИХ ГОСУДАРСТВ НА РУБЕЖЕ СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЬЯ
И РАННЕГО НОВОГО ВРЕМЕНИ
(Теоретико-методологический аспект)**

**THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE DIPLOMATIC SERVICE
OF THE EUROPEAN STATES AT THE TRANSITION FROM THE
LATE MIDDLE AGES TO THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD
(Theoretical and methodological aspects)**

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Rezumat: *Articolul analizează principalele direcții ale politicii externe a statelor europene într-o perspectivă istorică, la hotarul dintre medievalitate și modernitatea timpurie, ca experiență necesară pentru practica diplomatică a secolului XXI. Autorul acordă atenție teoriei și practicii diplomatice, dezvoltării instituționale, realizărilor, problemelor și perspectivelor serviciilor diplomatice din Europa, descriind particularitățile instrumentarului diplomatic și ale modelelor în diplomație.*

De asemenea, sunt analizate cerințele profesionale față de diplomați și oficiali guvernamentali implicați în realizarea politicii externe, ținând cont de contextul istoric și de continuitatea practicii diplomatice.

Abstract: *The article deals with the analysis of the main directions of foreign policy of the European states in the historical retrospective: from the early Modern time till contemporary diplomatic practice of the 21st century. The particular attention is given to the theory and practice of the diplomacy, to the institutional development, achievements, problems and prospects of diplomatic services of the European states, as well as to the peculiarities of the today's diplomatic instruments and models.*

The professional demands to the diplomats and government employees, who are engaged in the foreign policy in the context of particular historical period of their activities and continuity of diplomatic practice, are analyzed.

Résumé: *L'article analyse les principales orientations de la politique étrangère des États européens en rétrospective historique: depuis le début de la période moderne à la pratique diplomatique moderne du XXI^e siècle.*

Une attention particulière est accordée à la théorie et la pratique de la diplomatie, au développement institutionnel, aux réalisations, problèmes et perspectives du service diplomatique de l'Europe et décrit les fonctionnalités des outils diplomatiques et les modèles de la diplomatie.

On analyse les exigences professionnelles aux diplomates et fonctionnaires impliqués dans la politique étrangère, dans le cadre de la période historique de leurs activités et de la continuité de la pratique diplomatique.

Keywords: *foreign policy, diplomacy, institutionalization, diplomatic service, diplomatic instruments, model of diplomacy, Europe, early Modern time (XVI-XVIII centuries).*

Одно из центральных мест в теории, истории и практике дипломатии как в раннее Новое время (XVI-XVIII вв.), так и в XXI веке занимают проблемы понимания сущности, функций и методов реализации государственной власти и моделей дипломатии. В сфере внешних сношений таким средством реализации внешней политики является – дипломатия. С этой проблематикой связаны и оценочные суждения современников относительно различных государственно-правовых форм и типов правления, моделей дипломатии, институционализации политических процессов, объективной оценки реальности и создания идеалов при освещении задач и практической деятельности власти¹.

В древности «дипломатия» возникла как вербальная форма взаимодействия между сообществами людей. В отличие от риторики, которая отводила важнейшую роль ораторскому красноречию, т.е. акцент делался на форме и манере изложения текста, в «дипломатии» были важны обе стороны процесса: как способность говорить/излагать, так и способность слушать/воспринимать речь посланника другой стороны, т.е. акцент делался на информационном содержании текста. В этой связи чрезвычайно важным является понимание места и роли дипломатии в арсенале инструментов реализации внешней политики государства. В современных условиях термин «дипломатия» применяется чаще всего в широком смысле, т.е. для обозначения модели взаимодействия государств в области международных (межгосударственных) отношений. Она характеризуется отказом от насильственных мер в реализации национальных интересов и достижении внешнеполитических задач государств. Таким образом, дипломатия есть антипод другой модели взаимодействия суверенных государств – модели, которая базируется на применении насилия и принуждения.

¹См. подробнее: G. A. Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, Washington, 2010, 288 p.; Т. П. Гусарова, *Властные институты и должности в Европе в Средние века и раннее Новое время* [Authoritative institutes and posts in Europe in the Middle Ages and the Modern Time], Москва, 2011, 600 с.; В. Г. Циватый, *Проблема влади і владарі-державці в Західній Європі Середньовіччя та раннього Нового часу (політико-правові теорії та реальність)* [The Problem of Power and Power-holders in Western Europe of the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times (political and legal theories and reality)], in «Середньовічна Європа: погляд з кінця XX ст.», Київ-Чернівці, 2000, с. 57-62.

Совсем другой была дипломатия раннего Нового времени, когда ещё не работали привычные нам механизмы и технологии дипломатии. В этот период существовала особая модель межгосударственных отношений, теоретическое обоснование и разработка дипломатического инструментария которой во многом принадлежит Никколо Макиавелли².

В этот период термин «дипломатия» использовался для обозначения средств и методов осуществления внешней политики государства. Дипломатия как «средство осуществления внешней политики» включало в себя совокупность невоенных практических мероприятий, приёмов и методов, применяемых с учётом конкретных условий и характера решаемых внешнеполитических задач межгосударственных отношений Средневековья и раннего Нового времени³.

Никколо Макиавелли (1469-1527) в своих работах и дипломатической практике понимал дипломатию в более узком толковании этого термина. Он соотносил понятие дипломатии, как функции, т.е. функциональной деятельности по осуществлению или управлению двусторонними или многосторонними отношениями. Он отождествлял дипломатию как технику осуществления внешнеполитических задач и, в данном случае, акцент делал на процессе реализации дипломатией своей функции: установления формального контакта между государствами для ведения диалога, ведения переговоров.

В 1498 году Макиавелли поступил на государственную службу и как Посол погрузился в дела межгосударственные. В период с 1499 по 1512 годы он предпринял множество дипломатических миссий. Свою дипломатическую практику и дипломатическое мастерство оттачивал при дворах Людовика XII во Франции, Фердинанда II и при Папском дворе в Риме⁴.

Труды итальянского политика, историка, мыслителя, писателя и дипломата Никколо Макиавелли (1469-1527) полны актуальных принципов,

² См. подробнее: В. Г. Циватый, *Дипломатический инструментарий Н.Макиавелли и институционализация дипломатической деятельности западноевропейских государств раннего Нового времени* [Machiavelli's Diplomatic Instruments and Institutionalization of Diplomatic Activity of the Western States of the Early Modern Time], in «Перечитывая Макиавелли: у истоков современной науки. Идеи и политическая практика через века и страны», Материалы международной научно-практической конференции (26-27 сентября 2012 года), Москва, 2012, с. 141-151; М. А. Юсим, *Макиавелли: мораль, политика, фортуна* [Machiavelli: morality, policy, fortune], Москва, 2011, 576 с.; M. J. Unger, *Machiavelli: A Biography*, London, 2011, 366 p.

³ См. подробнее: G. Livet, *L'équilibre européen de la fin du XV^e à la fin du XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1976, 461 p.

⁴ J. Dumont, *Corps universelle diplomatique du droit des gens*, Amsterdam, 1726, T. 3, Pt. 2; G. Flassan, *Histoire général et raisonnée de la diplomatie française, ou de la politique de la France, depuis la fondation de la Monarchie, jusqu'à à la fin du règne de Louis XVI*, Paris, 1811, T.1, p. 458.

рекомендаций и инструментов дипломатии⁵. Его теоретические и практические разработки не утратили своей актуальности и в XXI веке.

Самоуверенность, смелость и гибкость сильного государя, политика, дипломата – вот от чего зависит, по мнению Никколо Макиавелли, успех, результативность и эффективность проводимой им политики и реализации внешнеполитических задач государства. Это настоящее руководство по придворным и дипломатическим интригам, дипломатическим технологиям достижения успеха любой ценой и вседоступными средствами. Политики, дипломаты и учёные используют наследие Макиавелли в своей повседневной практике XXI века⁶.

В своём произведении «Государь» (1513), сделавшего его известным на века, итальянский дипломат Никколо Макиавелли анализирует и подробно описывает свойства характера, приёмы, методы и инструментарий дипломатии для управления государством, необходимые идеальному правителю. Макиавелли убеждён в том, что политика и дипломатия – это искусство, которое не зависит от морали и религии, когда речь идёт о средствах, а не о целях. Государь (Правитель) в идеальном образе Никколо Макиавелли всё время должен осознанно или неосознанно удерживать функционально-властную универсальность в целостности посредством профессиональной компетентности, благодаря мудрости, умению вести переговоры и делать взвешенные выводы из исторических сравнений. Государь должен научиться умению отступать от добра и справедливости и пользоваться этим в зависимости от многообразия факторов и жизненных обстоятельств.

Важную роль Никколо Макиавелли придавал переговорному процессу. Именно с дипломатией он связывал понятие инструмента политики, инструмента ведения переговоров. Искусство ведения переговоров в период раннего Нового времени (XVI-XVIII вв.) было главным инструментом межгосударственных отношений. А зачастую в этот период дипломатия попросту идентифицировалась с самим искусством ведения переговоров, т.е. искусное применение совокупности тактических методов и приёмов, а также знаний предмета переговоров, ориентированное на достижение конкретных целей (порою даже любой ценой), являющихся звеньями реализации стратегических целей (в данном случае – целей внешней политики государств раннего Нового времени). В распоряжении государства находятся инструменты и методы, с помощью которых оно реализует свои внешнеполитические задачи. Инструменты и методы реализации внешнеполитической задачи взаимосвязаны и представляют собой статичный и динамичный аспекты одной реальности.

⁵ См.: Никколо Макиавелли, *Государь* [The Prince], Москва, 2012, 504 с.

⁶ См. подробнее: G. A. Pigman, *Contemporary Diplomacy*, Washington, 2010, p. 266-269; М. А. Юсим, *Макиавелли: мораль, политика, фортуна* [Machiavelli: morality, policy, fortune], Москва, 2011, с. 499-506.

Никколо Макиавелли, как теоретик и дипломат-практик своего времени отчётливо осознавал и умело анализировал происходящие процессы в Западной Европе. Его поучения, рекомендации и практические действия в дипломатической сфере оказывали влияние на ход европейской политики на рубеже Средневековья и раннего Нового времени и заложили фундамент дальнейшей политико-дипломатической деятельности на протяжении последующих веков.

В его работах мы можем проследить зачатки классификации инструментов внешней политики государства: мирные инструменты внешней политики (многосторонние и односторонние) и силовые инструменты внешней политики. В своих трудах он описывает плюрилатеральные (многосторонние) контакты: прямые переговоры; дипломатия – как средство; медиация (посредничество); переговорный процесс. Также он делает акцент на личной дипломатии (либо дипломатии односторонних контактов): шпионаж, пропаганда, экономическая интервенция, политическая интервенция и т.д.

Шпионаж, так часто практикуемый в эпоху Никколо Макиавелли, следует, несмотря на его природу, т.е. нелегальный характер деятельности агентов секретной службы одной страны, тем не менее, относится к числу мирных инструментов внешней политики. Силовые инструменты внешней политики у Никколо Макиавелли обретают различные формы и методы – от угрозы, от сдерживания до военного давления, до войны. Экономическая война также уже начинает пониматься современниками как силовой инструмент внешней политики государства.

Дипломатия лишь один (хотя и наиболее типичный) мирный инструмент внешней политики государства. В свою очередь война является наиболее типичным силовым инструментом внешней политики. Институционализация дипломатической деятельности западноевропейских государств раннего Нового времени проходила этап своего становления с учётом военного фактора (от Итальянских войн и Тридцатилетней войны до войн Наполеоновских)⁷.

Как верно отмечает Никколо Макиавелли, дипломатия – это постоянно действующий институт профессиональных посредников (переговорщиков), дипломатов, созданный в каждом государстве с определёнными целями. К таким целям во все исторические эпохи относятся: установление и поддержание постоянных контактов между государствами; информирование и разъяснение официальной позиции своего правителя (государя) в стране пребывания; подготовка и ведение переговоров, от имени и по поручению своего государства, с целью гармонизации интересов сторон и достижения соглашения; оказание некоторых публичных услуг гражданам своей страны, оказавшихся, по разным причинам, за её пределами и т.д.

⁷ См. подробнее: Ю. Е. Ивонин, *У истоков европейской дипломатии нового времени* [At the origins of the European diplomacy of the Modern time], Минск, 1984, 160 с.

Приёмы и методы дипломатии раннего Нового времени – это весьма сложный дипломатический инструментарий, который нацелен на выполнение внешнеполитических задач государства. Цели дипломатической деятельности на практике, однако, зачастую сопряжены со значительными трудностями (яркие примеры чему мы находим в описаниях Никколо Макиавелли), и результаты могут не совпадать с ожиданиями и чаяниями. Связано это с целым рядом факторов и условий, которые могут или благоприятствовать или препятствовать выполнению поставленных перед дипломатией задач.

В конце XV века Европа вступает в новый период межгосударственных отношений. Эти тенденции и новые правила дипломатической игры нашли чёткое отражение в событиях и перипетиях Итальянских войн (1494-1559). В новых политических условиях формируются и новые взгляды на внешнюю политику и дипломатию, её инструментарий. Наиболее последовательно и теоретически обоснованно эти новые взгляды на государство и его внешнюю политику и дипломатию изложил в своих трудах Никколо Макиавелли.

Его политический реализм и новые идеи вполне разделяли выдающиеся деятели и политики Средневековья и раннего Нового времени. События Итальянских войн стали своеобразной экспериментальной площадкой, на которой происходила апробация всех форм и методов дипломатии раннего Нового времени. Дипломаты раннего Нового времени неукоснительно соизмеряли каждый внешнеполитический шаг своего государства с позицией своего государства в системе международных отношений, научились учитывать позиционное размещение внешнеполитических сил и определять необходимый дипломатический инструментарий для реализации внешнеполитических задач.

Они проводили прелиминарные переговоры и готовили проекты будущих соглашений, постигали посольский церемониал и дипломатический протокол, систему дипломатических стереотипов.

Уже в конце XV – начале XVI веков в Западной Европе начался быстрый переход к современной системе организации посольской службы – постоянным дипломатическим представительствам, было заложено основы институционализации внешней политики каждого отдельного государства и европейской внешней политики в целом⁸.

В период раннего Нового времени были сформированы модели (типы) дипломатии и завершился процесс институционализации дипломатии европейских стран и их дипломатических служб. Институты дипломатии и институ-

⁸См. подробнее: Н. А. Хачатурян, *Двор монарха в средневековой Европе: явления, модель, среда* [Monarchy court in the Europe of the Middle Ages: phenomena, model, milieu], Москва – Санкт-Петербург, 2001, Вып.1, 352 с.; Н. А. Хачатурян, *Королевский двор в политической культуре средневековой Европы: Теория. Символика. Церемониал* [Royal court in the political culture in the Europe of the Middle Ages: Theory. Symbolics. Ceremonial], Москва, 2004, 544 с.; М. Viroli, *Machiavelli*, Roma, 1998, p. 112.

ционализировавшиеся государственные органы внешних сношений, разрабатываемые и реализуемые ими внешнеполитические задачи европейских стран имели в своей предыстории и заслугу Никколо Макиавелли.

Современник Итальянских войн (1494-1559) Никколо Макиавелли приводит многочисленные примеры из своей дипломатической деятельности, когда степень заинтересованности государств в том или ином варианте решения проблем развития может варьироваться в зависимости от военного потенциала и уровня экономического развития государств-участников переговоров или военных действий, их роли и места в системе международных отношений на рубеже Средневековья и раннего Нового времени, внутренней и внешнеполитической ситуации⁹ и т.д.

Это, в свою очередь, осложняет выработку консенсуса и может привести к асимметричному, неравному, разрешению проблемы, т.е. к неравному распределению выгод и издержек (например, Като-Камбрезийский мирный договор 1559 года). Дальнейшая история дипломатии XVI-XVIII, дипломатии XIX века полна примеров создания разного рода альянсов, блоков и союзов государств, противостоящих друг другу. В подобной ситуации, основной заботой дипломатии является сохранение существующего баланса сил. Века шли вперёд, но теоретическое и практическое наследие Никколо Макиавелли незримо оставляло свой след в истории межгосударственных отношений и его дипломатический инструментарий всегда находил благодарных исполнителей как во благо, так и во вред. Внешняя политика государства есть, была и будет самостоятельной и независимой, но всегда сохраняющей дипломатическую и институциональную преемственность.

Дипломатический инструментарий – это совокупность средств и способов, применяемых для достижения или осуществления поставленных целей. Никколо Макиавелли всегда старался и теоретически обосновывал, что его дипломатический инструментарий должен быть всегда гибким и прагматичным. Идеи и правила дипломатического инструментария Никколо Макиавелли стали привычным элементом современности, и зачастую – те кто их использует и не догадываются кто был их истинным автором. Национальный эгоизм, этно- и другие формы центризма также не исчезли с политической арены и часто проявляются в ходе переговоров по выработке коллегиальных соглашений, нацеленных на защиту интересов государств¹⁰.

⁹ См. подробнее: Emile Namer, *Machiavel*, Paris, 1961, 256 p.; М. А. Юсим, *Этика Макиавелли* [Machiavelli's ethics], Москва, 1990, с. 66-69; М. J. Unger, *Machiavelli: A Biography*, London, 2011, 366 p.

¹⁰ См. подробнее: J. Lecoq, *L'Idéal et la Différence: La perception de la personnalité littéraire à la Renaissance*, Genève, 1993, 266 p.; В. Г. Циватий, *Європейська зовнішня політика доби раннього Нового і Нового часу: проблеми інституціоналізації (теоретико-методологічний аспект)* [European foreign policy of the early Modern time and Modern time: problems of institutionalization (theoretical and methodological

Идеи и практика Никколо Макиавелли, его дипломатическая система, его инструменты дипломатии (диалог, переговоры, медиация, поддержание контактов, распространение и сбор информации, правовые инструменты и т.д.) не утратили своей актуальности через века и страны и широко востребованы сегодня, но естественно, что уже с поправкой на исторические, политические, социально-экономические, военно-дипломатические и другие факторы современности.

Многие дипломатические постулаты Никколо Макиавелли воспринимаются сегодня как сами собой разумеющиеся, нашедшие своё воплощение и в дипломатической практике XX - начала XXI веков.

Таким образом, мы приходим к выводу, что на сегодняшний день накоплен достаточно богатый, но пока довольно трудно сопоставимый эмпирический материал, в частности, в области дипломатической истории как Средневековья и раннего Нового времени (XVI-XVIII вв.), так и дипломатической истории XXI века.

Нам представляется, что, поскольку критерии для обобщения такого обилия эмпирического материала на то время ещё не были выработаны, целесообразным становится разработка единого дипломатического инструментария для всех исторических периодов, объединяющего в себе все перечисленные виды дипломатической деятельности.

Единый инструментарий и модели дипломатии также помогли бы решить и проблему с множественностью выделения разными авторами также пока трудно сопоставимых компонентов дипломатии от эпохи раннего Нового времени до современной дипломатии XXI века. В частности, среди таких компонентов ранее мы уже в рамках теоретического анализа выделяли внешнеполитический компонент дипломатии, дипломатия как ценность, морально-этическая норма в дипломатии, потребность личности, личностное осмысление, институционализация, институциональный процесс, институты дипломатии, модели дипломатии, дипломатический инструментарий и т.д.

DECEMBER 1944: A BRITISH MISSION IN NORTHERN MOLDAVIA

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Rezumat: După 23 August 1944, România a intrat într-o nouă fază a istoriei sale, condiționată de regulile Convenției de armistițiu din 12 Septembrie 1944. În decembrie 1944, britanicii au decis să trimită o misiune ACC în Nordul Moldovei, cu Ted Masterson și Wheeler, pentru a obține informații asupra acestui teritoriu complet controlat de armatele ruse.

Abstract: After the 23rd of August 1944, Romania has entered into a new phase of his history, being under the Armistice (12 September 1944) convention rules. In December 1944, was sent a British ACC Mission (with Ted Masterson and Wheeler) to Northern Moldavia to get and retrieve information about this area, entirely under the control of the Russian Army.

Résumé: Après le 23 Août 1944, la Roumanie est entrée dans une nouvelle phase de son histoire, être sous les règles de la convention d'armistice. En Décembre 1944 les Britanniques envoyèrent une ACC mission (avec Ted Masterson et Wheeler) au nord de la Moldavie pour obtenir des informations sur ce domaine entièrement contrôlée par l'armée russe.

Keywords: ACC, Northern Moldavia, Russian occupation, armistice

The Romanians big hopes from the evening of August 23rd, 1944, linked firstly to the matter of concluding peace and return to a democratic regime, dissipated soon. The heroic gesture by which Romania back weapons and has passed in the Allies' camp, contributing substantially to shorten the war and opening the way to the Soviet troops to the Balkans and Central Europe, has been rewarded with the *de facto* occupation of the country by the Red Army.

After the agreement was signed on the night of September the 12, 1944 any trace of illusion has disappeared. Romania enter into a phase in which the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission become the main political instrument of decision.

By far, the most complicated situation was encountered in Moldavia. Here, strong fighting has been taken place before the August 23rd, 1944, the authorities had been discharged, and chaos ruled all over the place.

This situation was going to deteriorate as the weeks passed, and Soviet authorities took the opportunity to install here an obedient administration, dominated by the pro-communist forces. But, for the people remaining in the area, more dangerous than political evolution was economic status, the fall of the standard of living and the daily uncertainty generated by abuses committed by Soviet troops, theoretical allies, which continued in the autumn of 1945.

In fact, even Soviet authorities have contributed to the preservation and amplifying of this general status, including through a series of administrative measures.

We give only two examples. The first is the gauge widening of main railway lines in the Moldavia that were connecting the region to Bucharest, this fact contributing to the *quasi-total* control of Soviet authorities on traffic of goods and people, but which has also paralyzed the secondary railway lines¹. In addition, on 9th of November 1944 it was published a decree law by which all of the goods seized in the Soviet Union had to be restored in five days². The term very brief and the realities in the country opened the way toward new abuses by the USSR.

Practically, we can assume that Moldavia was almost separated from the point of view political/administrative from the rest of the country, and this fact has perpetuated up toward the end of the year 1944. Communists took advantage of it, and Soviet authorities have encouraged and sustained them.

In fact, on October the 28th, 1944 only four prefects in Moldavia were confirmed by the Minister of the Interior, the rest of them being install by "local political authorities and install under the auspices of Soviet military authorities"³. For the chaos to be even greater, on the market has begun to circulate in addition to national currency, the Romanian "Leu", the rouble and the "Leu" of the Soviet Command, which has contributed to the acceleration of inflation⁴.

Although at the beginning of December 1944 has been instated a new government, led by general Nicolae Rădescu, which has decided to put an order in the country, especially since it had been over three months since the events on August 23rd, 1944, Moldavia was returning very slowly toward normality⁵. This is the reason

1 For an overview see Gheorghe Onișoru, *România în anii 1944-1948. Transformări economice și realități sociale* [Romania during 1944-1948. Economic transformations and social realities], Bucharest, Fundația Academică Civică Publishing House, 1998.

2 "Monitorul Oficial" [Romanian Official Gazette], Part I, no. 260 of 9 November 1944, p. 7238-7239.

3 The four prefectures were in the county of Botoșani, Neamț, Putna, Covurlui – Central Historical National Archives (C.H.N.A.), Fund Ministry of the Interior, File no. 13/1944, f. 5-6.

4 A ruble was quoted at 100 Romanian „Lei”, and one “Leu” of Military Command of Soviet troops was quoted at 5 Romanian „Lei” - „Viitorul”, 2 september 1944.

5 A report issued by the Ministry of the Interior from November the 8th, 1944 captures realities from Moldova and South Bukovina: „In Moldavia and South Bukovina can not say that we

why American and British Missions within the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission have tried to obtain information on the spot. In this context took place the mission of Colonel Ted Masterson between 13th and 15th of December 1944.

Colonel Masterson was accompanied on this visit by Lt. Col. Wheeler, both of them having been members of UK Mission within the Allied (Soviet) Control Commission. Officially they had dealt with, the first the economy, the second the agriculture. The experience of the two during the three days in which they have tried to arrive in the northern part of Moldavia may be reconstructed today in basis of the report made by Masterson on his return to Bucharest⁶.

Here's the report in question in full version:

„Allied Control Commission Rumania

British Mission

Journey to Moldavia

December 13th to Dec. 15th inclusive

Lt. col. Masterson and Lt. col. Wheeler

On account of motor car failure had to return to Bucharest after reaching a point 15 km north of Focsani.

Weather

The weather was very bad during the first two days. Strong cold wind blowing on the 14th with the thermometer at -10 degrees C. On the 15th wind died down. Temperature -6 degrees C.

State of Roads

Road to Buzau – paved highway.

have a Romanian state administration. Authority of the state is much reduced. In some most important centers and county such as Dorohoi, Suceava, Rădăuți etc., this authority is undermined. Prefects and the mayors were appointed by Soviet Command. Most of them do not fulfill the conditions required by law, in particular conditions of the study. All of these prefects and mayors have been surrounded by a administrative staff without any kind of education. Many of those officials appointed by them, in important posts, such as those of subprefect position, are Jews, others are arguing again with justice. For example the case of prefect Alexiuc and quaestor Babotă of Iași, first having only 4 primary classes and the second, a former Sergeant First Class, who was sentenced to hard work for murder ... In the cities, as well as in the villages, operates a police composed of local elements. In particular in the cities this police is composed by members of the Communist Party, without any speciality. The police teams sent by General Direction in Moldova have been desarmed and arrested. Mentioned for example the cases from Bacau, Bârlad and Iași” - Central Historical National Archives (C.H.N.A.), Fund Ministry of the Interior, File no. 22/1944, f. 1-7.

⁶ The report can be found in British archives - Public Record Office, FO 371/48577.

Buzau to Focsani, surface frozen. Going fairly good. Could have average 40 kms an hour with a good car. Believe that the road to Bacau is also fairly good when frozen. Could average 40 kms an hour along the portion covered by us.

1st Day

Arrived at Ramnic Sarat at 6,30 p.m. R. Sarat is a town of 15.000 inhabitants. When we arrived everything was shut up. The town was in complete darkness practically nobody on the streets. Went to the Venus refinery where we had arranged to be quartered. Even with the help of the refinery management we failed to convince any of the local inn keepers to open up and serve us with a meal.

During the night there was quite a lot of shooting going on in the vicinity of our quarters. In the morning there were about 50 charts outside the refinery gates waiting to purchase kerosene. They had come from as far north as Botosani. Some had already waited for 3 days. On account of the shortage of kerosene not more than 400 litres was sold to anyone customer.

2nd Day

Went to Focsani. On the way spoke to mayor of the Village of Plainesti. Received a very cordial welcome. Told us that the peasants were terrorized by the Russians. The village being on the main road, a great amount of looting had taken place. Upon arrival on Focsani met the Mayor (prof. Lozinski) and the local „prefect” (prof. Boos). Both are member of the national peasant party. We were given a very cordial welcome. The following were among the people we met in Focsani: two of the largest landowners (messes Pana and Zamfirescu), the head of the local Chamber of agriculture (engineer Stancu a procomunist), the local secretary general of the National peasant party (prof. Apostol), the assistant mayor (mr. Mihaileanu a shoemaker and communist), the chief of Police (mr. Tuta) etc.

Focsani was the capital of the county of Putna, has a population of 32.481 (1930).

Focsani by day looks busy, shops seem to be well supplied. A lot of Russians in town.

Focsani by night: Completely dead. Nobody out after 7 p.m. All shutters drawn after dusk. A few Russians in the streets, occasional shooting.

Political situation

The county of Putna is the first county we came to which is part of Moldavia. The mayor, town council etc have held office since the *coup d'etat* of August 23rd. The communists, very few in numbers in the county of Putna, have not attempted to seize power by force, as they have done in other parts of Moldavia. In normal times Putna comes under the jurisdiction of Galatz. As the communists have seized control there, the Putna authorities asked Bucharest whether they should in future report to and accept orders from Galatz, or from the Minister of Interior in Bucharest. The answer they received was very evasive. The actual position at the time of our visit was that Putna only accepted and carried out orders from Galatz when these were in line with the general policy of the National peasant and the Liberal parties. They also

maintained close contact with Bucharest and abided by their instructions. It is important to note that Bucharest has no authority at the present time in any of the counties north and east of Putna.

We found that the local authorities were quite out of touch with recent happenings in Bucharest and elsewhere. All radios have been confiscated and papers only arrive twice a week. There are only two trains a week to Bucharest. The railway journey to Bucharest used to take about four hours in normal times. Now it takes nearly two days. There are no lights in the trains at nights and a number of passengers are regularly robbed during every journey by organized bands. (Russians and Romanians).

3rd Day

Started off for Bacau but had to give up after travelling some 14 kms north. Passed through the village of Faurei on the main Marasesti - Focsani road. We found that the whole village (some 100 houses) was completely deserted, the inhabitants having fled to the mountains after their homes had been completely pillaged by the Russians.

General impressions of what we saw and heard

Food in Moldavia is in plentiful supply. It cannot be distributed on account of the complete lack of transport facilities e.g. there is an abundance of potatoes in the county of Roman which cannot be moved.

Moldavia is very short of kerosene, sugar, tobacco, matches, salt and (in the plains) firewood.

Fantastic prices are charged for transport, e.g. the price of kerosene in R. Sarat is 24 lei per kg. The transport to Botosani for instance, costs 150 lei per kg. The product is sold in Botosani for 400 lei per kg. A 4 ton lorry charges 1.000.000 lei for the return journey (loaded both ways) Bucharest – Botosani. 25.000 lei is the cost per passenger for a journey in a very crowded bus Botosani to Bucharest.

There are a lot of Russians in Putna – among these are troops guarding the German and Hungarian prisoners in the Focsani P.O.W. camp, convalescent troops from the Focsani hospitals etc. there are also said to be a lot of stragglers in the district. All these and more especially the stragglers, terrorise the population.

The villages situated along the main roads (Bacau to Focsani, Vaslui to Focsani) and along the main railway line running from the north have suffered very badly from pillage. Troop trains often pull up in wayside stations for several hours at a time. The soldiers detrain, and descend upon the nearest village, collect everything they can lay their hands and terrorise the inhabitants. Although we only saw one evacuated village, we were told that there were many others. We were told that a belt about 10 km wide on each side of the main road is considered more or less uninhabitable (We were not able to check this).

The assistant Mayor of the village of Ivancești (Dumitru Nesu) was shot dead by two Russians soldiers. He had been ordered to produce some hens and was actually in that act of catching one when he was shot.

We were very much astonished by number of horse drawn vehicles laden with wine barrels along the road from Focsani to Bucharest. There were many hundreds of these. It is difficult to believe all these stories about lack of horse transport when so many carts seem to be available for the transport of such non essentials.

Russian discipline

In the restaurant in Focsani where we were lunching a Russian lieutenant, slightly under the weather, started to sing. The Russian Major Stukov who accompanied us told him to keep quiet. The lieutenant then came to our table, starts arguing and refused to sit down again when ordered to do so by the Major. The town Mayor (prof. Lozinski) was sitting at our table and I think the Russian lieutenant asked our Major why he was sitting at the same table as the Mayor, to which the major replied that prof. Lozinski was a communist. (This in fact was not true). Eventually the lieutenant retired only to come back again in a few minutes to resume the argument, and to refuse to sit down when ordered to do so. He eventually left the restaurant.

The locals told us that the NKVD are „top dogs” in the district. The mayor once saw two NKVD men remove a colonel by force from a restaurant. It is a common sight to see NKVD men apprehending officers.

The „prefect” (dr. Boos) told us that he had been called to a neighbouring village after a Russian major had raped a girl aged five. He told us that he had personally seen the mother and the victim. The case was reported to the Russian H.Q. but no action was taken. Prof. Apostol also saw the child.

The chief of Police told us that so far, 5 of his policemen had been killed by Russians in Focsani.

Epidemics in the county of Putna

In answer to our inquiry the local M.O. informed us that there were two cases of Typhus in Focșani, and 24 cases in the county of Putna.

The following information was obtained from:

Mr. Pana, the owner of about 500 acres of land in the county of Putna.

The following items were removed from his property without any receipt being given:

- 30 wagons of wheat
- 6 wagons of peas
- 1 wagons of maize
- 4 wagons of oats
- 12 wagons of wine
- 40 racehorses – including the stallion Lord Pentourist
- 40 oxen
- 50 cows and heifers
- 100 pigs
- 2.000 hens, geese, turkeys and etc.

500 sheep

10 carriages and harness

20 farm carts.

Threshing machines and other equipment.

Pana estimates the value of the above at 100 million lei.

Mr. Pana has sown only 50 hectares of autumn wheat (in normal times 150 hectares).

The land has not been worked by anybody else. The peasants have not taken possession of the property.

Mr. Zamfirescu the owner of about 700 acres.

The following items were removed from his property without any formal receipt.

70 pigs

20 oxen

All his farm implements

6 wagons of wheat

5 wagons of oats

30 wagons of wine

4 horses and two carriages

1 motor car

All personal belongings etc.

Mr. Zamfirescu has not sown anything this autumn. He showed us a certificate issued by the local chamber of agriculture stating that he was unable to work the land himself due the lack of seed, cattles, ploughs etc. The certificate further states that Mr. Zamfirescu was unable to find any peasants in the neighbourhood willing to work his land on a 50/50 basis.

No doubt, Lt. col. Wheeler will make a separate report on the Agricultural situation.

E.C. Masterson, Lt. col., Economic Section”

Of course, such a report is well worth a succinct analysis. In the first place, it should be noted that within the Allied Control Commission in Romania the factor of decision was the USSR. As we have seen, the mission of the two British officers, Masterson and Wheeler, was practically “supervised” by a Soviet military with the rank of Major.

Of the realities recorded in this report we can only appreciate their veracity, as they are confirmed - as a line of conduct to the level of an overview – by numerous other archive documents. Interesting is the fact that the mission of Masterson has failed in practice because it failed to reach even Bacau, so nothing about a visit to Iasi or Suceava.

Nevertheless, the recorded during the three days of experience in Moldavia are proof of a professional on the matter⁷. An officer was charged with the exact realities in Romania three months after the date on which it had become allied of Soviet Union.

Although the situation was virtually uncontrollable from Bucharest, we must emphasize the desperate effort of Prime Minister from that date, General Nicolae Rădescu, to repair the situation. In particular, he has set up an interministerial commission which, on 25th of December 1944, has proposed the first concrete measures for Moldavia to return to normality⁸. Certainly that, in conditions of communists and their allies' boycott, which benefited the soviet protection, the actions proposed by General Rădescu had no effect.

⁷ Colonel Ted Masterson was experienced with regard to the issues of Romania; this is because his previous mission was in Turkey, where he has been in contact with Alexandru Cretzeanu. Cretzeanu had been accredited in Turkey by Mihai Antonescu, but will act on behalf of Iuliu Maniu and of the democratic opposition. Accredited in Ankara on 15th of September 1943, Cretzeanu will be informed by the British, on 9th of November 1943 that negotiations for the output of war must be carried with all three nations' allies. On the 1st of February 1944, Cretzeanu met the colonel Ted Masterson, who worked on the Middle East and it has informed that Allies were ready to receive an envoy of Romanian opposition, empowered to sign unconditional surrender – See, at length, the memoirs of Alexander Cretzeanu, *The lost opportunity*, Iași, 1998, pp. 28, and 135-140.

⁸ See, at length, Dumitru Șandru, *Stabilirea administrației comuniste în Moldova* [The establishment of communist administration in Moldova], in *6 martie 1945. Începutul comunizării României* [6 March 1945. The beginnings of communization of Romania], Bucharest, 1995, pp. 59-77.

RUSSIA'S SOFT SECURITY POLICY: 2000 – 2012

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Rezumat: În era post-sovietică, Rusia s-a confruntat cu mai multe amenințări asimetrice care nu pot fi anihilate prin utilizarea forțelor convenționale. Mai ales după atacurile teroriste de la 11 septembrie 2001 din SUA, sub președinția lui Vladimir Putin, Rusia a conștientizat rolul puterii non-militare în definirea unui loc cât mai important în sistemul internațional. Așadar, acest articol încearcă să analizeze schimbarea strategiei de securitate națională a Rusiei în timpul președinției lui Putin și nevoia de redefinire a conceptului de securitate națională.

Articolul își propune să explice politica rusă de securitate de tip „soft” promovată în timpul lui Vladimir Putin și să examineze principalele amenințări de tip soft la adresa Rusiei, precum și modul în care acestea au fost contracarate în perioada post-sovietică. Spre deosebire de principalul curent din literatura de specialitate care sugerează că, din cauza contextului istoric și a factorilor geopolitici, Rusia s-a concentrat exclusiv pe problemele de securitate de tip hard, în cadrul politicilor sale naționale de securitate, articolul argumentează faptul că, sub președinția lui Putin, în conformitate cu politicile de securitate națională, pe lângă politica de securitate de tip hard, Rusia a început să acorde o importanță mai mare securității de tip soft. Printre provocările de tip soft la adresa securității, Rusia acordă întâietate terorismului, criminalității transnaționale organizate și securității energetice.

Abstract: In the post-Soviet era, Russia has encountered several asymmetric threats which cannot be solved by using conventional forces. Especially after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 in the U.S., Russia has recognized the importance of non-military power to find a powerful place in international system under Vladimir Putin presidency. In that respect, this article seeks to analyse changing Russia's national security strategy during Putin presidency and need to redefine its national security concept.

The article aims to explain Russian soft security policy under Vladimir Putin and examines the basic soft security threats which Russia has encountered and how it fought against these threats in the post-Soviet era. Contrary to the mainstream literature suggesting that Russia has focused exclusively on hard security issues within its national security policies due to its historical background and geopolitical factors, the article argues that Russia started to give more importance to soft security besides hard security in its national security policies since Putin's presidency. Among soft security challenges, Russia prioritizes especially terrorism, transnational organized crime and energy security.

Résumé: Pendant l'ère postsoviétique, la Russie se confronta avec plusieurs menaces asymétriques, qu'on ne pouvait pas annihiler par l'utilisation des forces conventionnelles.

Surtout après les attaques terroristes de 11 septembre 2001 des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique, sous la présidence de Vladimir Putin, la Russie réalisa l'importance de la puissance non militaire dans la définition d'une place plus importante dans le système international. Donc, l'article ci-joint essaie à analyser le changement de la stratégie de sécurité nationale de la Russie pendant le mandat de Putin et le besoin de redéfinir le concept de sécurité nationale.

L'article se propose d'expliquer la politique russe de sécurité de type *soft* promue pendant Vladimir Putin et à examiner les principales menaces de type *soft* à l'adresse de la Russie, ainsi que la manière dans laquelle, dans la période postsoviétique, celle-ci les contrecarra. A l'encontre du principal courant de la littérature de spécialité qui suggère qu'à cause du contexte historique et des facteurs géopolitiques, la Russie s'est concentrée exclusivement sur les problèmes de sécurité de type *hard*, dans le cadre de ses politiques nationales de sécurité, l'article soutient le fait, que, sous la présidence de Vladimir Putin, conformément aux politiques de sécurité nationale, auprès de la politique de sécurité *hard*, la Russie commença à accorder une importance accrue à la sécurité *soft*. Parmi les provocations de type *soft* à l'adresse de la sécurité, la Russie mit entre ses priorités, en spécial, le terrorisme, la criminalité transnationale organisée et la sécurité énergétique.

Keywords: *Russia, Soft Security, Terrorism, Transnational Organized Crime, Energy Security*

Introduction

Contrary to mainstream literature on the importance of hard security in Russia, the article argues that soft security policy is as important as hard security for Russia during Putin era. According to the typical arguments, defining national security led to emergence of military concerns.

Bobo Lo has marked in his book *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy* continuation of the Soviet worldview of Russia. Although positive-sum outcomes with Western countries, Russia has given priority to hard security interests such as nuclear stability, proliferation of weapons and building stable and equal military relations with the U.S. and NATO¹.

Luke March is another mainstream scholar who analyses Russian national security strategy. Firstly, March emphasized Putin's book *Russia's at the Turn of Millennium* which is published in 2000 in his work *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations*. According to March's interpretation, Putin's security thinking displays more continuity than change. Putin focuses on Russia's domestic crisis to maintain domestic sovereignty and autonomous development². Furthermore, March mentions that Putin's national security perception was based on pragmatism

¹ Bobo Lo, *Vladimir Putin and the Evolution of Russian Foreign Policy*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003, p. 72.

² Luke March, *Security Strategy and the Russia Problem*, in Roland Dannreuther and John Peterson (eds.), *Security Strategy and Transatlantic Relations*, New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2006, p. 102.

and ensured national interest. In this context, Russia is still against the U.S./Western alliances and need to balance relations³.

Flemming S. Hansen focusing on the 2003 Military Modernisation Strategy stipulated that Russia had right to apply pre-emptive military strikes against military threats within its borders and destroy terrorists⁴. For Hansen, Russia has legitimized the use of all means of the destruction of terrorists after the Beslan siege and shows its real aim worldwide⁵.

Andrew Monaghan argues that Russia has poor soft security policy. For him, Russia has tendency to see soft security for wealthy countries and prefer short-term militarised solutions. Russia has small developments on as regards to cooperation with other countries about soft security issues, human rights dialogue and other soft security threats. Moreover, he criticised Russia:

*Russia's position on soft security matters has often fluctuated between interest and almost complete ambivalence and after interest has remained merely rhetorical. The low prioritization of soft security matters is reflected in budgetary commitments - they remain badly financed by the Russian government and budget allocations are rarely disbursed in full. Military security remains predominant focus and will continue to be so in the near future.*⁶

Donald M. Snow is another mainstream scholar who is interested in globalization and national security in his book *National Security for a New Era*. Snow defined national security as a whole perception. The military concerns are the traditional and functional matter of national security. In this context, soft security implementations are part of traditional security as under the subject of new additions to the national security agenda⁷. He added that there were three vital security threats which were related to globalization; energy security, environmental security and cyber security. They do not totally concern hard security but, Snow emphasized the need for non-traditional policy of national security. However, hard security does not lose its value and importance⁸.

In the light of above discussion, contrary to mainstream arguments, the study argues that the concept of soft security has a vital importance to provide strong national security for Russia in post-Soviet era. In that respect, determination of Russia's soft security threats demonstrates the necessity to cooperate with other countries, as Russia needs to establish high-level relations in

³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁴ Flemming S. Hansen, *In the Transatlantic Gap*, Russia in Global Affairs, Dec.11, 2004, <http://eng.globalaffairs.ru/numbers/9/710.html> (Accessed July 21, 2012).

⁵ *Ibid.*, (Accessed July 21, 2012).

⁶ Andrew Monaghan, *Russian Perspectives of Russia-EU Security Relations*, Agentura. Russian Studies and Research Center, Russian Series, no.5/38 (2005), p. 5, <http://studies.agentura.ru/centres/csrc/perspectives.pdf>. (Accessed July 21, 2012).

⁷ Donald M. Snow, *National Security for a New Era: Globalization and Geopolitics*, New York: Pearson Education, 2006, p. 147.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

order to create functional soft security protection which was created in Russia during Putin presidency.

Until the end of the Cold War, security was defined only in the military arena. According to Ullman, security is not composed of only military matters. When he wrote his article in 1983 during the Cold War era, he referred re-definition of security as changing arms like nuclear arms and techniques⁹. Furthermore; he added that:

*Over the past decade or so a vast array of public interest organizations has begun to put forward alternate conceptions of national security. Nearly, all are devoted to particular issues- limiting population growth, enhancing environmental quality, eradicating World hunger, protecting human right and the like. Some are overt lobbies expressly seeking to alter political outcomes. Other devotes themselves to research and educational activities. But they are equally concerned with governmental behaviour. Jointly they have succeeded substantially raising public awareness of the vulnerability of the society to a variety of harms non-military in nature, and of the limitation of military instruments for coping with many types of political problems*¹⁰.

New liberal politics has compassed around the world in the 1980s and increased the value of human being as well as non-military matters. Hard security is still important for all countries¹¹. In that respect, the scholars start to emphasize non-military issues much more.

It is worth mentioning to state that countries need to solve security problems not only to fight against or be protected from another states, but also to fulfil their responsibilities towards their citizens in terms of ensuring their safety. Building a hard military capacity is not enough in the said process. Countries need to include other security items and actions in their programme such as laws which are considered as important outputs. For instance; saving from earthquake can only be possible by having hardy structures constructed and builders must adhere the rules how to build enduring houses and buildings.

Cooperation with other countries and mutual interdependency are basic ways to fight against soft security threats. In this respect, John Pinder emphasized in his article Russia's role in generating a common strategy to build a safe and stable world system¹². After the September 11, 2001 Russia started to give importance to cooperate with regional partners and international actors for political and security issues. For Pinder, Russian willingness to cooperate and join partnerships should be supported by Western countries¹³.

⁹ Richard H. Ullman, *Redefining Security*, International Security, no.8/1 (1983), p. 138.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 152-153.

¹¹ Torbjon L. Knutsen, *A History of International Relations Theory*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992, p. 351.

¹² John Pinder, *EU-Russia Partnership as a Pillar Building a Safe and Stable World System*, in *The EU & Russia The Promise of Partnership*, John Pinder and Yuri Shishkov, London: The Federal Trust for Education and Research, 2002, p. 135.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Andrei Zagorski mentioned in his article that Russia is one of countries who try to develop its soft security policies¹⁴. Russia is ready to be a strategic partner of the European Union in terms of economic cooperation. Thus, Russia has supported agreements and scientific explorations concerning science, aircraft, space and energy¹⁵.

Russian National Security Concept, Military Doctrine and the Foreign Policy Concept (2000)

Russian National Security Doctrines are important to emphasize all policies of Russia as the doctrines highlight the priorities of Russian Government. Moreover, the development of the country can be understood by investigating the doctrines. On the other hand, the implications of doctrines are very important. Namely, it should reflect the reality of the country.

In general, there are four basic documents to analyse national security of Russia; Russian Security Blueprint Concepts 2000, Concept of the World in the 21st Century, Russia's Development Strategy to the year 2010 and Foreign Policy of Russia. In addition to that, Russian Security Concepts 1997 and The May 2000 Russian Military Doctrine has crucial importance to see the whole picture. Under those doctrines, hard and soft security issues are analysed.

According to Russian National Security Concept (2000) which was approved by Russia's Security Council on 5 October 1999, national security of Russia is a system of view explaining how to provide security of the individual, society and the State against external and internal threats in any aspect of life and activity in Russia¹⁶.

Putin's national security policy is more realistic and brief when compared to Yeltsin's. Furthermore, security becomes more important issue during Putin era. In order to understand Putin's contribution to Russian national security, National Security Concept 1997 and National Security Concept 2000 needs to be compared¹⁷. The perception of the World in the eye of Russia has become more complex and in 2000, its position became stronger than 1997. Both 1997 and 2000 versions of the National Security Concept underline the importance of economic interests¹⁸. Basically, Russia has re-recognized its geo-politics and economic importance in the World. In the framework of soft security, Russia has added their doctrines several updated information such as economy, environment and new non-military threats.

¹⁴ Andrei Zagorski, *Policies towards Russia, Ukraine, Moldova and Belarus*, in Roland Dannreuther (ed.), *European Union Foreign and Security Policy*, New York: Routledge Francis and Taylor Group, 2004, p. 83.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁶ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

¹⁷ Jakup M. Godzimirski, *Russian National Security Concepts 1997-2000: A Comparative Analysis*, in "European Security", no. 9/4 (2000), p. 83.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

In the first part of the Russian National Security Concept 2000, the new world order as a multi-polar system which shares economy, politics, technology, science, environment and information were mentioned. In addition to that, international law is the basic point to build state relations. Nevertheless, military force and violence remain substantial aspects of international relations.

The Russian National Security Concept 2000 directly emphasizes domination of the West. Western countries believe that the new world order involved the leadership of their power, especially the U.S. Therefore, based on their military capacity, they want to govern the World using their own way and own interest.

During Putin presidency, Russia's foreign policy turned out to be more active and aggressive¹⁹. Following active policies in the region and in the World, Russia has connoted what kind of policy towards the U.S. to be pursued; decision on cooperation and peaceful relations in the international arena or ignoring the region and decrease the impact of NATO.

Putin trained as a KGB spy and the KGB had always seen the U.S. as an enemy. Putin could not completely ignore his training. However, he also recognizes the benefits of U.S. for Russia. Moreover, Putin explored the multi-polar alternatives to domination of the international system by the U.S.²⁰. Russia has recognized its geopolitical and historical importance in international arena. Russia wants to be integrated to the world economy and financial institutions and fight for the same interests such as international terrorism, regional conflicts, proliferation of mass destruction weapons, illegal trafficking of drugs, ecological problems, nuclear and radiation threats²¹.

Furthermore, Russia minds World stability and mentions protecting the environment. For example; The Duma ratified the Kyoto Protocol which is an agreement concluded under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). Countries which ratify the protocol promise to reduce their emissions of carbon dioxide and five other greenhouse gases (GHG), or engage in emissions trading if they maintain or increase emissions of these greenhouse gases on 11 December 1997 by the 3rd Conference of the Parties, which met in Kyoto, and it entered into force on 16 February 2005. As of June 2008, 182 parties have ratified the protocol. Putin approved the treaty on 4 November 2004 and Russia officially notified the United Nations of its ratification on 18 November 2004²².

¹⁹ Tom Streissguth, *Vladimir Putin, Chapter Eight: Facing Down Terrorism*, Minneapolis, Lerner Publication Company, 2005, p. 89.

²⁰ Elle Akerman and Graeme P. Herd, *Russian Foreign Policy: the CIS and the Baltic States*, in *Russian Politics* under Putin ed. Cameron Ross., Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 278.

²¹ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

²² *Kyoto Protocol Status of Ratification*, UNFCCC, http://unfccc.int/files/kyoto_protocol/status_of_ratification/application/pdf/kp_ratification.pdf (Accessed July 20, 2012).

Some scholars have criticized Russia for not doing anything in practice. Environmental concerns are not among the top priorities in Russia. People are worried about unemployment, poverty, gap between rich and poor than environmental problems. Moreover, the Government does not take any actions to raise awareness on protecting the environment²³.

Second part of national security concept is national interests; its national interests are to combine individual, public and the State at economic, politic, national and international levels. There are short-term and long-term interests which are tried to be reached. It is highlighted that national interests are secured by institutions of State authority.

At individual level, Russia needs to reach constitutional rights and freedoms, including living in a secure arena with high-quality life standard. Democracy, rule of law and social state are Russia's interests at public level. Furthermore, sovereignty and ensuring territorial integrity, political, economic and social stability are Russia's interests at State level. Russian national security interest is only reached by sustainable economic development. Military capacity and State authority are necessary for people's welfare and freedom.

The doctrine directly emphasizes Russia's position as a great power and one of the influential centres of multi-polar world. Another important national interest of Russia is using information. Modern telecommunications system is the right of public. However, State's information resources are needed to be protected from unauthorized access. Its military sphere and border policy are directly related with its national interest. Russia has given importance to its territorial integrity and sovereignty. Moreover, prevention of military aggressions against itself or its allies is necessary to ensure peaceful and democratic development of State.

Russia's national interests in border policy are composed of soft security applications; the establishment of political, legal, organizational and other conditions are the ways to ensure reliable protection of the state borders²⁴. Russia has recognized non-military matters to solve security threats in long-term. In that respect, the doctrine strongly emphasizes Chechen problem. Russia needs to generate its soft security matters to focus on Chechen problem in depth.

The third part mentions Russia's internal and external threats. All these threats set a barrier against ensuring stable gross domestic product, investments and innovation. Agriculture and banking system, as two most important sectors, have to be protected from these threats. Russia recognizes the importance of raw material for

²³ Alain Bernard, Sergey Paltsev, John M. Reilly, Marc Vielle and Laurent Viguier, *Russia's Role in The Kyoto Protocol*, MIT Joint Program on the Science and Policy of Global Change, Report No.98 (June, 2003), p. 4, http://web.mit.edu/globalchange/www/MITJPSPGC_Rpt98.pdf (Accessed July 17, 2012).

²⁴ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

their country and the world supply as well. In this scope, Russia's internal and external threats cause security problem for all countries. The doctrine explains this point as in the following:

The condition of the national economy and incomplete nature of the system and structure of the authorities of state and of society, social and political polarization of society and criminalization of social relations, the growth of organized crime and terrorism and a deterioration in intercommunal and international relations are all creating a broad range of internal and external threats to the country's security²⁵.

Russia has not given fair quarter to ethno-egoism, ethnocentrism and chauvinism, moreover uncontrolled migration promote nationalism, political and religious extremism and ethnoseparatism, and create a breeding ground for conflicts, organized crime and terrorism. Territorial integrity and CIS countries' situation are the basic points for perceiving national threat, considering Russia as the largest country in the World.

Russia has recognized the importance of reforms at state, society and individual levels. Furthermore, internal threats are derived from the relationship between the State and public. Problems can only be solved by means of strong communication and interaction. The doctrine shows that Russia started to give much more importance to soft security to ensure stability.

In the fourth part, ways and means of ensuring national interests of individual, society and state are mentioned. It is taken place for the targets in order to ensure national interests.

The doctrine mentions several points:

- to promptly detect and identify external and internal threats to national security;
- to take short- and long-term action to avert and remove internal and external threats;
- to ensure the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Russia and the security of its border lands;
- to improve the economy and pursue an independent and socially-oriented economic policy;
- to overcome the Russia's scientific and technological dependence on external sources.

The doctrine included:

- ✓ to ensure citizens' personal security and constitutional rights and freedoms in Russia;
- ✓ to improve the system of state power in the Russia, the system of federal relations and local self-government and legislation;
- ✓ to create harmonious relations between communities, and to strengthen law and order and preserve socio-political stability in society;

²⁵ *Ibid.*

- ✓ to ensure unwavering compliance with Russia legislation by all citizens and officials, state bodies, political parties and public and religious organizations;
- ✓ to ensure Russia's cooperation, especially with the world's leading countries, on equal and mutually advantageous terms;
- ✓ to increase State's military potential and maintaining it at a sufficient level²⁶.

Russia has focused on the State as the guarantor of the individual and the society. Moreover, it should strengthen the role of the State in every sector such as military and economy. Therefore, it managed to protect rights of each of the different groups. In the doctrine, Russia's multi-national structure is emphasized. In addition to that the role of individual and their rights are accepted. Those subjects are evaluated through strengthening State authority²⁷.

Military Doctrine 2000, which was approved in February 2000 by the Russian Security Council, is a part of Russian National Security Concept 2000. Chechen conflict caused to generate military doctrine for Russia²⁸, since Russia has given importance to its territorial integrity on their national security interest and perceived oppositions towards the State as a threat.

In post-Soviet era, Russia's military aim depends on its safeguarding. Furthermore, Russia tries to integrate peace-keeping activities for universal peace. Russia has continued to develop the necessary military infrastructure to protect its citizens from military threats. On the other hand, the aim of being a democratic country has found a place on its Military Doctrine 2000. The doctrine explains that with these sentences:

*The Military Doctrine is a document for a transnational period - the period of the formation of democratic statehood and mixed economy, the transformation of the state's military organization and the dynamic transformation of the system of international relations*²⁹.

Under military subject, it is beneficial to mention "Security Dilemma". Citizens would like to live peaceful arena but, wars are another reality of the World.

Throughout the history, wars and security have been the basic subject. Therefore, up to today, although it changes form, weapons still remain as important assets for the States. It is possible that countries' security practices could be perceived as a threat by other countries. Therefore, military doctrines are crucial for state interests. On the other hand, states have encountered several problems which cannot be solved using military

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Osman Metin Öztürk, *Rusya Federasyonu Askeri Doktrini* [Military Doctrine of Russian Federation], Ankara: ASAM Yayınları, 2001, p. 24.

²⁸ Mustafa Kibaroglu, *Rusya'nın Yeni Ulusal Güvenlik Konsepti ve Askeri Doktrini* [New National Security Concept and Military Doctrine of Russian Federation], "Avrasya Dosyası": Rusya Özel, no.6/4, 2000, p. 99.

²⁹ *Russian Military Doctrine*, Arms Control Association, (May, 2000) <http://www.armscontrol.org/act/200005/dc3ma00.asp?print> (Accessed August 08, 2012).

matters. Under this complex prevention system, states have to prepare multi-functional documents to ensure high security in their country. Both hard and soft security is the key policies to provide comprehensive security. In the future, it is argued that planning security policies will be based on less military security³⁰.

The Military Doctrine 2000 is composed of internal and external threats of facing Russia. The aim of Russian military force is not to attack any country, but to safeguard Russia. Border instability, hostile information, discrimination of Russian citizens in any country, any extremist movement based on religion or ethnicity, terrorism, illegal international trafficking are the threats for Russia³¹. The main goal of Russian military doctrine:

*The Russian Federation views the safeguarding of its military security within the context of building a democratic rule-of-law state, implementing socio-economic reform, asserting the principles of equal partnership, mutually advantageous cooperation and good-neighbourliness in international relations, consistently shaping an overall and comprehensive international security system and preserving and strengthening universal peace*³².

Russia has participated in some major multilateral arms control agreements and treaties: Biological Weapons Convention signed in 1972, Chemical Weapons Convention signed in 1993, Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1996, Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty in 1968, Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons in 1981 and Outer Space Treaty in 1967. Furthermore, it is the member of Missile Technology Control Regime, Nuclear Supplier Group, International Atomic Energy Agency and Global Initiative to Combat Nuclear Terrorism are some examples³³.

There are several examples to show Russian effort to ensure regional and global stability in the World with bilateral or regional agreements. Firstly, Russia has built regional cooperation and it also tries to play a more active role in the cooperative structures and systems. For example, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) was established in 2001 to stabilize the region with its six members, sixth member Uzbekistan included in the organization later and other members are Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan as full member and India, Pakistan, Mongolia and Iran having observer status³⁴. It is an important organization to set Russian and Chinese relations in the region. The membership of the same military organization also provides peace and decrease the level of conflict in the region. Some authors have claimed that the aim of the organization was to reduce U.S. power in the region. For example; after 2005 Summit of SCO, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan asked the U.S.

³⁰ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Güvenlik Politikaları ve Risk Analizi Çerçevesinde Balkanlar (1991-1993)* [Security Politics and Balkans by the context of Risk Analysis (1991-1993)], Ankara: Dış Politika Enstitüsü, 1994, p. 4.

³¹ *Russian Military Doctrine*, Arms Control Association, (May 2000) <http://www.armscontrol.org/act/200005/dc3ma00.asp?print> (Accessed August 08, 2012).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ İlyas Kamalov, *Rusya'nın Orta Asya Politikası* [Russia's Central Asia Policy], in "Stratejik Analiz", no.8/89, 2007, p. 88.

to vacate their military base. Putin gives much importance to SCO, he emphasized that SCO was not fighting terrorism but since it is in the economic zone SCO's aim and capacity needed to be developed in 2004³⁵.

Secondly, concerning the Black Sea region, Turkey and Russia have built partnership on military and non-military issues. Black Sea Economic Cooperation is beneficial to generate soft security issues in the region such as international terrorism, organized crime, energy, transformation and disaster management³⁶. Moreover, in hard security issue coastal states to Black Sea have generated military relations to secure the region. BLACKSEAFOR was established in 2001 in Istanbul in which Russia participated³⁷.

Thirdly, Putin has emphasized the importance of Far Eastern countries in this sentence; "Give importance to Far East, otherwise 50 years then today you will start to speak Chinese, Japanese and Korean"³⁸. The Shanghai Five was a border negotiation between Soviet Union and China. After independence, China and Russia agreed to continue border negotiations with three newly independent Central Asian countries- Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Moreover, China, Russia and these three countries signed an agreement on confidence-building in the military sphere in the border areas in 1996. In 1997 they signed "The Agreement on the Mutual Reduction of Military Forces in Border Areas"³⁹.

After dissolution of the Soviet Union, successor states have encountered transition process in every area of their life and state ruling. Concept of the World in the 21st Century which was approved by presidential decree no.1300 of 17 December 1999 shows the Russian perception of the new world system. Furthermore, new threats impend national security policy of all countries. New threats in soft security issue can be assessed. The Concept of the World in 21st Century explains new system and new threats which all countries have encountered:

With globalization, international security is becoming increasingly indivisible. In this context, a political structure of the world order should meet the requirements of its practical implementation. It is important that all states be equally protected against modern risks and threats and bear common responsibility for their elimination. Thus, the world community faces to imperative of establishing a cooperative mechanism to manage the globalization process⁴⁰.

³⁵ Putin Calls for Closer Cooperation of Shangai Members, Gateway to Russia (2004), http://www.gateway2russia.com/st/art_243211.php (Accessed August 10, 2012).

³⁶ Oktay Fırat Tanrıseven, *Sovyet Sonrası Dönemde Rusya'nın Karadeniz Politikası* [Post-Soviet Russia's Black Sea Policy], "Avrasya Dosyası", no.13/1, 2007, p. 185.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

³⁸ İlyas Kamalov, *Rusya'nın Asya-Pasifik Seferberliği* [Russia's Asia-Pacific Campaign], in "Stratejik Analiz", no.8/87, 2007, p. 77.

³⁹ Richard W.X., Hu, *China's Central Asian Policy: Making Sense of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation*, in *Central Asia at the End of the Transition*, ed. Boris Rumer. (New York: M.E Sharpe, 2005), p. 135.

⁴⁰ *Russia - Concept of the World in the 21th Century*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/concept21.html>

The Cold War period became a scene of the Soviet and the U.S. power rivalry. In the multi-polar world, starting with second half of 20th Century, countries have encountered different actors such as states, unions, NGOs and international organizations. Now, the mediator of states is shown the United Nations and also it is responsible for global security and stability⁴¹. In the article, Russia has focused common movement on common problems such as international terrorism. Russia is one of the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. It tries to affect the decision process of U.N. In the article, Russia has emphasized the United Nations with these words:

*A special role in this process is assigned to the United Nations which is the single universal mechanism to maintain international peace and security. The UN Charter serves as a foundation of the concept of a world in the 21st Century....it is also important not only to preserve the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of peace but to reinforce its control over emergence and management of conflict situations*⁴².

Interdependency of countries has determined relation between each other. Protecting country is the basic interest of any states, but in today's world; countries have decreased the possibility of struggles, especially on nuclear crisis. However, the new world has produced new types of threats which are important for states individually or globally. Russia believed that regional actors are always more effective to solve problems and wants to take responsibility pursuing global and regional stability. It is mentioned these threats under soft and hard security matters:

*The extent of threats capable of destroying international security, plunging the world into a state of chaos and instability remains considerable. These threats include the danger of proliferation of nuclear, biological, chemical and other types of weapons of mass destruction; regional conflicts whose numbers keep growing; the danger of a new spiral of the arms race on a higher technological and information basis; the widening gap between rich and poor countries; organized crime and international terrorism; illicit traffic of drugs; vulnerability of the natural systems, environment, etc.*⁴³.

Russia has mentioned multi-polarity of the world. Therefore, it can create collective defence against global threats. Considering Russian national security priorities; it is extremely important to increase globalization of world economy by creating interdependency. It increases the role of regional organizations, prevention of interventions which threaten the sovereignty of states. Russia has given importance to demilitarization and interdependency which are the basic points of soft security.

Energy security policy is Russia's one of way to ensure interdependency and inter-penetration of economies and financial systems. For example; Russia and Turkey are competitors and also strong partners not only in the region but also in the

(Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ *Ibid.*

World. Today as for the natural gas, Turkey who accommodates 60% of natural gas from Russia is dependent on Russia in natural gas sector⁴⁴. Another example; Russia has tried to build economic partnership with Pakistan on energy issue. Gazprom wants Pakistan to be included in the Iran-Pakistan and India pipeline⁴⁵. Furthermore, Russia is not a member of Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) including Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Indonesia, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam as other member countries. In 2005, Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov signed a cooperation agreement with ASEAN countries on politics and economics for the 2005 - 2015 period. The agreement covers bilateral cooperation in the areas of small and medium sized enterprises, energy, technology, tourism, communication, environment protection and disaster management.

The Foreign Policy Concept of Russia was approved by Putin on 28 June 2000. In Putin era, Russia has followed more confident and powerful foreign policy compared to emotional and knee-jerk foreign policy under Yeltsin⁴⁶. He pursued active foreign relations with other countries during his presidency until 2008. His activeness can be observed by looking at the document.

Russia's top priority on the foreign policy is to protect the interests of the individual and the society. Furthermore, it has main objectives on ensuring reliable security of the country, to preserve and strengthen its sovereignty and territorial integrity, to achieve firm and prestigious positions in the world community, most fully consistent with the interests of Russian Federation as a great power, as one of the most influential centres of the modern world, and which are necessary for the growth of its political, economic, intellectual and spiritual potential.

Other objectives are:

- ✓ To influence general world processes with the aim of forming a stable, just and democratic world order, built on generally recognized norms of international law, including, first of all, the goals and principles in the U.N. Charter, on equitable and partnership relations among states;

- ✓ To create favourable external conditions for steady development of Russia, for improving its economy, enhancing the standards of living of the population, successfully carrying out democratic transformations, strengthening the basis of the constitutional system and observing individual rights and freedoms;

- ✓ To form a good-neighbour belt along the perimeter of Russia's borders, to promote elimination of the existing and prevent the emergence of potential hotbeds of tension and conflicts in regions adjacent to the Russia.

⁴⁴ Sinan Oğan, *Mavi Akım Projesi: Bir Enerji Stratejisi ve Stratejisizliği Örneği* [Blue Stream Project: An Example of Energy Strategy and Non Strategy], "Stradigma. Aylık Strateji ve Analiz e-dergisi", no.7 (August 2003), p. 6. <http://www.pete.metu.edu.tr/PETE/emre/photogallery/Mavi.pdf> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁴⁵ Kamalov, *loc cit.*, p. 83.

⁴⁶ Edwin Bacon and Matthew Wyman, *Contemporary Russia*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), p. 167.

Today, hard security issue plays an important role in all states' national security and foreign policy concepts. In addition to that, soft security threats gain importance in the framework of new global threats and non-military ways to fight against them.

Russia has highlighted the UN and its Security Council role to ensure stable system of international relations. Russia is the permanent member of the UN Security Council and one of the members of the Group of 8 of the major industrialized states. Moreover, Russia stresses the importance to build good-neighbourly relations and strategic partnerships. Firstly, Russia endeavours to set relations with the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS):

*Practical relations with each of them should be structured with due regard for reciprocal openness to cooperation and readiness to take into account in a due manner the interests of the Russian Federation, including in terms of guarantees of rights of Russian compatriots....to joint efforts toward settling conflicts in CIS member states and to the development of cooperation in the military-political area and in the sphere of security*⁴⁷.

European states are Russia's traditional foreign policy priority. In that respect, Europe is another reason for Russian willingness to generate soft security policies. Europe is one of the regions who use soft security matters in its system. Moreover, integration of this system is historical aim of Russia:

*The main aim of Russian foreign policy in Europe is the creation of a stable and democratic system of European security and cooperation. Russia is interested in the further balanced development of the multi-functional character of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and will make efforts in this direction*⁴⁸.

NATO is another important partner of Russia to ensure regional stability with constructive interaction. Russia and NATO have dealt with some soft security issues such as environmental protection especially considering the Black Sea, nuclear safety and fight against cross-border crime. The Founding Act on Mutual Relations, Cooperation and Security between NATO and Russia involves areas of consultation and cooperation, nuclear safety issues, developing on economics, environmental and scientific fields⁴⁹.

Russia desires to develop good relations with the Baltic countries; Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. Three main soft security threats identified for the Baltic countries; nuclear safety, infectious diseases, illegal migration and cross-border crime⁵⁰. Pursiainen, Haavisto and Lomagin regarded those soft security threats for European

⁴⁷ *Foreign Policy Concept of Russia*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/concept.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ Christer Pursiainen, in cooperation with Pekka Haavisto and Nikita Lomagin, *Soft Security Problems in Northwest Russia and their Implications for the Outside World*, (UPI Working Paper, 2001), p. 29.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

countries. According to the article, The Russian Federation is prepared to overcome considerable latter-day difficulties in relations with the U.S., and to preserve the infrastructure of Russian - American cooperation, which has been created over almost 10 years. Despite the presence of serious, and in a number of cases, fundamental differences, Russian-American interaction is the necessary condition for the amelioration of the international situation and achievement of global strategic stability⁵¹. Although, Russia and the U.S. have not developed cooperation about the soft security issues, they have encountered on the UN Security Council for international issues and some specific regional cooperation. They agree on fighting against counter-terrorism, transnational organized crime and energy security.

Developing relations with Asia is the important part of Russian foreign policy. Building cooperation with bilateral and regional agreements and organizations are the ways to build stable and peaceful soft security relations. Non-proliferation, countering criminal trafficking, the campaign against religious extremism and transnational terrorism, limiting conventional arms racing and addressing ecological disasters are soft security concerns of Russia in Central Asia⁵². Furthermore, China and India are fundamental partners of Russia. Russia wants to establish economic ties with China.

Different from Yeltsin period, Putin wants to play role on subject matters concerning Middle East and Africa as one of the World's strongest countries as it is directly related with the World stability and economic opportunities. The article is the evidence of Russian wishes to be one of influential countries in the world with its both hard and soft security policies.

Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010

The main aim of the Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010 which was approved by Putin on 28 June 2000 is:

The aim of the strategy is to qualitatively raise living standards on the basis of the self-fulfilment of every citizen, to preserve Russia's independence and cultural values, to restore the country's economic and political role in the world community. It is impossible to achieve these aims without the fullest emancipation of society, this making it possible to tap its internal sources of development. An optimistic perception of the world should prevail in the country and the almost totally lost trust between citizens and the state as well as between citizens and business should be restored⁵³.

Russia's Development Strategy to the year 2010 is the important document for soft security; this medium-term strategy is today short-term strategy and only one

⁵¹ *Foreign Policy Concept of Russia*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/concept.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁵² Dmitri Trenin, *Russia's Threat Perception and Strategic Posture*, Strategic Studies Institute (Nov. 2007), p. 17, <http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdf/PUB829.pdf> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁵³ *Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/strategy2010.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

year is remained to be realized. In Russian Economic Report in November 2007, developments on some sectors such as construction, retail trade and manufacturing are noticed⁵⁴. In addition to economic sectors, Russia allocates funds for social policies like education and public health.

Russia has deficiencies in basic social issues. For instance; the main and direct policy towards civil society of Putin, Civic Forum in 2001 who announced that in Moscow for 5000 representatives of NGOs. Evans mentioned in his book:

*Civil society organizations throughout Russia into a single corporatist body to allow consultative role in government. In other words, social organizations would sacrifice their independence to represent institutionally. NGOs refused the offer. His vision about civil society is pseudo-civil society in which social organ are subordinated of state authority*⁵⁵.

Civil society is an important part of soft security policy of all countries. Russia has a great deficiency in this point. Russia has given much more importance to state apparatus in order to build strong soft security. The article is based on economy and internal policy of the State. The last part of the article, it is mentioned that the strategy does not rule out an even more dynamic development of the country in the period till 2011⁵⁶. Russia has optimistic policy, but on the other hand, the article claims that it is ready for pessimistic results. It does not directly emphasize soft security threats and state implementations against them.

Russian National Security Concept-2000 and The Foreign Policy Concept of Russia indicate Russian security threats. Respecting international law, Russia follows more active foreign policy to introduce itself to the world again. After the Cold War, the U.S. has become the only superpower in the world. Today, bipolar international system has changed multiplicity after the participation of China, EU and Russia as powers in international arena. Putin prefers pragmatic foreign policy and realistic appreciation of the limitations on Russian military power. Thus, Russia controls its ability to build soft security matters in its national security.

Terrorism as a Soft Security Threat to Russian Security

Terrorism is the reality of political science and international relations. Countries have encountered terrorism as internal or external threat throughout their history. The September 11, 2001 was the turning point of perceiving terrorism in international system. It was seen that hard security precautions were not enough at the state level.

⁵⁴ *Russian Economic Report November 2007*, World Bank Official Web Site, (2007), p. 3, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTRUSSIANFEDERATION/Resources/RER15_Eng.pdf (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁵⁵ Alfred Jr. Evans, *A Russian Civil Society*, in Stephen White, Zvi Gitelman and Richard Sakwa (eds.), *Developments in Russian Politics*, 6, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, p. 109.

⁵⁶ *Russia's Development Strategy to the Year 2010*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/strategy2010.html> (Accessed August 20, 2012).

For many years the UN has been interested in the concept of terrorism. Starting from 1963 till 1999, the universal conventions and protocols against terrorism are related with a few issues on terrorism. Those 13 universal legal instruments and three amendments signed to prevent terrorist acts. The September 11, 2001 was turning point of the perception of international terrorism. After 2001, UN has put much more importance to the subject. The Security Council adopted resolution 1373(2001) on 28 September 2001 and declared:

“...acts, methods and practices of terrorism are contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations”. It called upon Member States to “become parties as soon as possible to the relevant international conventions and protocols” and “to increase cooperation and fully implement the relevant international conventions and protocol”⁵⁷. In 2005, the Security Council developed “Counter-Terrorism Committee” to monitor the implementations of resolutions by all states.

The General Assembly approved an expanded programme of activities for the UNODC Terrorism Prevention branch. The United Nations adopted Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy by the General Assembly on 8 September 2006 to provide technical assistance to all countries about terrorism.

The UN is interested in soft security issues highly; there are many conventions and in-depth analyses about the issue. On the other hand, countries generally prefer to imply the convention if they ratified. The UN has not any sanction towards states, only uses psychological pressure on them about the international system and its obligations. When real implementations of the convention are considered, it appears that there are many deficiencies.

Russia has involved in the UN conventions and shared the same wishes to fight against several extremist activities such as uncontrolled migration promote nationalism, political and religious extremism and ethno separatism, and create a breeding ground for conflicts, organized crime and terrorism⁵⁸. The definition of terrorism in Russian law passed in 1998:

*Violence or the threat of violence against individual or organizations, and also the destruction (damaging) of or threat to destroy (damage) property or other material objects...implemented with a view to violating public security, intimidating the population or influencing the adoption of decisions advantageous to terrorists by governing authorities or satisfying their unlawful material and (or) other interests*⁵⁹.

National accord and territorial integrity, unity of legal domain and law and order are the basic goals. Russia needs to build equal and equitable relations with other countries⁶⁰. Russia has recognized the importance of international support on

⁵⁷ *Global Action against Terrorism*, UNODC, <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/terrorism/global-action-against-terrorism.html> (Accessed August 27, 2012).

⁵⁸ *Russian National Security Concept-2000*, Permanent Representation of the Russia to the Council of Europe, <http://www.russiaeurope.mid.ru/russiastrat2000.html> (Accessed July 17, 2012).

⁵⁹ *On the Fight against Terrorism*, The Russian Intelligence-Related Documents, http://fas.org/irp/world/russia/docs/law_980725.htm (Accessed August 27, 2012).

⁶⁰ *The Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation*, <http://www.mid.ru/ns->

solving problems even if they are internal. It does not mean that Russia has let interference in its politics; but it provides political power in international arena with perceiving Chechens as problematic issue.

Terrorism is perceived as threat for many countries especially Western countries that have produced various strategies to combat terrorists. Countries' military capacities, geo-strategic conditions, economies, and technologic developments are different aspects of their national strategy. Techniques and strategies have changed in time. There are many different points of views and perceptions on this matter and therefore is it hard to categorize terrorism as a concept.

According to Bal, terrorism is a strategic expression and terror is a strategic action. Terrorism is supported by people who believe in their actions which lead to coordinated and planned bloody actions. Under this definition terror is an action so as to kill civil and policemen⁶¹. The important question is that is it possible to think that terrorism as an ideology. According to Crenshaw, terrorism is considered as a facet of secular modern politics, principally associated with the rise of nationalism, anarchism and revolutionary socialism⁶².

According to O'Kane, terrorism is not a political ideology like Nazism, communism, fascism, anarchism, liberalism or conservatism as these ideologies logically imply distinctive sets of ideas which involve critical assessment of other political ideas and realities together with alternative proposals on preferred political system and society⁶³ and terrorism is not limited with any ideology.

Terrorism is a deadlock where politics finishes. On the other hand, it is an element of politics. The September 11 incident was the turning point of definition of terrorism perceived as a global threat. Until that time, it can be seen a various type of terrorism also which came from state, any radical movements against state and ethnical or any kind of antagonism have emanated.

September 11, 2001 was the turning point of international terrorism. Russia has had formidable opportunity to vindicate his conception of security threats redefining global terrorism⁶⁴. The perception of common threat becomes closer to Russia and Western countries. Actually, there is any attack towards Russia from Al-Qaeda. However, Russia has tried to include Chechen war under the subject. Also Islam is misperceived by many countries in the world.

osndoc.nsf/0e9272b2b34209743256c630042d1aa/cef95560654d4ca5c32574960036cddb?OpenDocument (Accessed August 20, 2012).

⁶¹ İhsan Bal, *Terör Nedir, Neden Terörist Olunur?*, in İhsan Bal (ed.), *Terörizm: Terör, Terörizm ve Küresel Terörle Mücadelede Ulusal ve Bölgesel Deneyimler*, Ankara: USAK Yayınları, 2006, p. 8.

⁶² Martha Crenshaw, *The Causes of Terrorism* in Charles W. Kegley (ed.), *The New Global Terrorism: Characteristic, Causes, Control*, Harlow: Pearson Education, Inc., 2003, p. 93.

⁶³ Rosemary H.T. O'Kane, *Terrorism*, Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2007, p. 27.

⁶⁴ Andrei P. Tsygankov, *Russian's Foreign Policy, Change and Continuity in National Identity*, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2006, p. 129.

Russia declared after the September 11 the war against Chechnya has been the part of war against global terrorism⁶⁵. The process has accelerated after Beslan in 2004. Russia started to build closer relations with the U.S. against global terrorism. Putin claimed that connection between Chechen terrorists and Al-Qaeda based on well qualifications and equipment. Therefore, it is easily to imply policies against Chechen terrorists. Russia needs to generate its soft security matters. Russell shows a methodology on his article, *A War by Any Other Name: Chechnya, 11 September and the War against Terrorism*. Four counter-terrorist strategies have been formed; eradication, terror against terror, containment, addressing the root causes.

Firstly, cost of eradication tends to be extremely high; estimated the cost of Chechen conflict on Russian economy range from \$1.3 billion to \$11.5 billion per year. Moreover, the conflict is a hamper on Russian democratic development. Russia has possibility to use the money on developing sectors especially on social and welfare policies. Secondly, according to Russell:

*Combating terrorism by employing terror tactics against the terrorists might be held to represent the „grasp’. Like eradication, it has the propaganda value reassuring one’s domestic constituency that something is being done to tackle terrorism without appearing to be weak, conciliatory or irresolute*⁶⁶.

Thirdly, containment or War tested after the Second World War. Establishing law, order and security in zone conflict are based on producing policies on politics, economics, social and diplomatic initiatives. In that perspective, Russia has to block Islamic fundamentalism in Chechnya as long as “those who are not with us, are with the terrorists” view is alive. Fourthly, understanding the reasons of conflicts is the half of solving problems. Therefore, Russia needs to look at root of the Russo-Chechen conflicts and what are their demands objectively. Even if, Russia does not accept their wishes, they will try to develop alternative methods such as treatment of economic and social conditions of Chechnya⁶⁷.

Putin signed a new law in February 2006, the National Counter-Terrorism Committee (NCC) formed addition to the Federal Security Service of the Russia (FSB). FSB involves counter-intelligence, internal and border security, counter-terrorism and surveillance. The newly established NCC replaces inactive Federal Counter-Terrorism Commission. Moreover, NCC has right to participate in international efforts to counter-terrorism⁶⁸. Russia controls regions with its Federal Distinct Staffs. Today, it is not certain that Chechnya is normalized or not. Nearly, 9

⁶⁵ John Russell, *A War by Any Other Name: Chechnya, 11 September and the War Against Terrorism*, in Richard Sakwa (ed.), *Chechnya: From Past to Future*, London: Anthem Press, 2005, p. 240.

⁶⁶ John Russell, *Chechnya-Russia’s War on Terror*, London: BASEES/Routledge Series on Russian and East European Studies, 2007, p. 103.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

⁶⁸ Simon Saradzhyan, *Russia’s System to Combat Terrorism and Its Application in Chechnya*, in Robert W. Orttung, Andrey S. Makarychev and NATO Staff (eds.), *Counter-Terrorism Strategies: Legal, Institutional, and Public Policy Dimension in the US, UK, France, Turkey and Russia*, Amsterdam: National IOS Press, 2006, p. 177.

years passed on occupation of Russia on Grozny. Russia is newly interested in reconstruction of Grozny with new paving stones, shops and cafes⁶⁹.

Terrorism is as an important threat of soft security. When it is looked at European Union who used soft security items much more than other countries, Europe views terrorism primarily as a law enforcement issue whereas Russia and the U.S. generally see military issue. Europeans does not support military action to block terrorist attacks. The U.S. and Russia called War on terrorism, on the other hand Europeans called fight or battle against terrorism. Russia and EU relations are based on common values regarding the same threats such as terrorism and organized crime and they continue to work about soft security threats for their security and prosperity.

Russia has preferred hard security actions rather than soft security as for fighting against terrorism. Previously, it was said that countries *sui generis* profile, on this perspective Russia has stayed in different geographic condition. And especially, the last examples such as attitude towards Georgia and North Ossetia crisis in August 2008 show that Russia is related with new technologies as a defence part of hard security.

Russia has recognized new threats in the new world. It has produced new solution for them. International and bilateral agreements are the way to struggle with any type of international security problems. Terrorism is the common soft security threat for every country today. Actually, the way of combat terrorism still belongs to hard security matters. What is more, this is the reason why terrorism cannot control. Russia has minded cooperation with the West under Putin presidency, because of international conjuncture and his aim as a Russian president.

The United Nations signed several agreements between the member states about counter-terrorism. There were several agreements which the member states signed about security and terrorism. "The Counter-Terrorism Committee" was established by the UN Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) unanimously and instantly after the September 11 terrorist attacks in the U.S. Russia is the chair of Sub-Committee B. Their aim is to struggle with counter terrorist activities at home, in their regions and around the World. The Committee has mentioned financing of terrorism and the basic aim to block state support to the terrorist groups. In addition to that, the new counter-terrorism law passed on 1 March 2006 by the Russian Parliament replicated Western legislation. The new counter-terrorism law is not only composed of acting terrorism but it also includes propaganda and spreading materials related with terrorism. The September 2004 Beslan host-taking crisis affected the decision of the new counter-terrorism law.

Russia has perceived international threats on terrorism. Therefore, it is needed to mention to Russian attitude against international and several regional terrorist groups after the September 11. Russia ratified the UN Convention of December 15, 1997 for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombing and of March 10, 1988 for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation in 2002. The

⁶⁹ Jonathan Steele, *It's Over and Putin Won*, in "Guardian" (2008), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/sep/30/russia.chechnya> (Accessed September 4, 2012).

International UN Convention of December 9, 1999 for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism ratified in 2004⁷⁰. Moreover, Russia has participated in the UN Global Action against Terrorism which was adopted by the UN Security Council on September 28, 2001.

Russia has been part of the UN Security Council Counter Terrorism Committee to bolster the ability of United Nations Member States to prevent terrorist acts both within their borders and across regions since 2001⁷¹. Russia has chance to operate regional effectiveness by using the UN conventions and agreements mostly based on its permanent membership of the UN Security Council. Russia has interest about the subject which is related the world stability.

Russia has considered international terrorism and recognized its global impact to them directly or indirectly. In addition to the UN conventions, regional efforts have strongly importance to fight against terrorism. In that respect, NATO is one of the partners of Russia to avoid terrorism, despite of long forbidding relations. The September 11, 2001 was a turning point of Russian and NATO relations. Thus, Putin takes advantage to prove its strategic significance and Russian engagement with the West. Two days after the attack, the NATO-Russia Permanent Joint Council adopted a joint statement condemning attacks and expressing their willingness to fight against terrorism. The Rome Declaration NATO-Russia Council (NRC) in 2002 emphasized the importance of rapprochement between the allies and Russia. New cooperative mechanisms and procedures were established.

Energy Security as a Soft Security Threat to Russian Security

Energy security is one of important issues in international relations as a soft security threat. Distribution and allocation of resources have been a crucial issue since people understood resources have been limited. International, regional and bilateral agreements became part of soft security in 21st Century. Furthermore, insufficient resources caused dependency of countries to each other. Countries have to build positive relations to take part of these resources.

Lieber mentioned that “Energy became a security issue when the supply of oil was a matter of national survival and later when the ability to pay for this oil became a question of almost comparable gravity.”⁷² Energy is very crucial concept from which every country has profits and losses.

Today, some of countries have some crucial resources such as mostly consuming in the world hydrocarbon reserves such as oil and natural gas. What is more, it is estimated that Russia will cover 12% of the World crude oil demand if

⁷⁰ First Deputy Head of the MOI Legislation Department gave a talk at the international workshop on international collaboration in combating terrorism, The Ministry of Interior of Russia, <http://eng.mvd.ru/news/3085/> (Accessed September 7, 2012).

⁷¹ The Counter-Terrorism Committee, The UN, <http://www.un.org/sc/ctc/> (Accessed September 11, 2012).

⁷² Linda B. Miller, *Energy, Security and Foreign Policy: A Review Essay*, “International Security”, no.4 (Spring 1977), p. 116.

Russian output should level off at a maximum of 11mb/d after 2010⁷³. According to Energy Information Administration of the U.S.:

*Russia holds the world's largest natural gas reserves, the second largest coal reserves and eight largest oil reserves. Furthermore, Russia is also the world's largest exporter of natural gas and the second largest oil exporter and the third largest energy consumer*⁷⁴.

Russian economy is mostly dependent on oil and natural gas exports. According to IMF and the World Bank statistics, "the oil and natural gas sector generated more than 60 percent of Russia's export revenue and accounted for 30 percent of all foreign direct investment (FDI) in the country"⁷⁵.

The "Russian Bear" model argues that its relative military decline, but still Russia remains a great power with its geo-political conditions. According to Russian bear model, energy is the potential powerful weapon to put pressure on other countries' politics and economics. Under that perspective, Russian energy capacity is so determinative for their position in international relations.

Russia is one of producer country of hydrocarbon reserves. In supply and demand security parts, it is mentioned how belonging hydrocarbon reserves effect Russia's status in the region and the world. Furthermore, Russia has recognized its energy advantage. Hydrocarbon reserves are limited in the world and demand of countries has gradually increased by depending on technologic developments and the capacity of the country. For example; developments on car industry impact on oil prices and demand. It is estimated that global demand for the fuel type sectors will rapidly increase to the year of 2017. Therefore, the supply of oil will be increased to 2017. In that point, diversification remains an important concept of energy security.

There are five important factors cause the perception on interdependence in the subject of energy security. Firstly, physical interdependence links countries via transportation road or pipelines. Infrastructure security is the basic problem under that subject, because there is a huge risk of disruptions. Secondly, economic interdependence is important for both consumer and producer states; stable supply of energy and energy prices are dependent variables. Thirdly, energy security creates social interdependence, because energy prices effect the wealth distribution and the volatility of oil and gas prices. Furthermore, it is a risk in front of socio-economic development. Fourthly, politics is directly related with economics, therefore energy security creates political interdependence. Mutual dependency force countries to cooperate several issues and energy trade provide comparable but stable relations with the parts. Lastly, ecological interdependence as the production, transportation and consumption of energy highly impact on environment such as environmental damage or climate change. This is the basic point of building soft security policies on energy security of Russia.

⁷³ Sadek Boussena and Catherine Locatelli, *Towards a More Coherent Oil Policy in Russia* (OPEC,2005), p. 92.

⁷⁴ *Russia Background*, Energy Information Administration of the US, <http://www.eia.doe.gov/emeu/cabs/caspgase.html>, (Accessed September 19, 2012).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

Conclusions

Russia's status in post-Soviet era has continued to be a powerful country. Its geo-political importance in the European continent conduces that Russia cannot be ignored in the new world system⁷⁶. It is obvious that today, new conditions of security start to be more important in addition to military matters⁷⁷. Russia perceives new developments and threats in the world which it may encounter. Moreover, Russia understands that it cannot solve problems or compete with other countries with the Cold War national security concept. Russia started to adapt its policies to the new national security concept. The concept of soft security identifies non-traditional threats and methods to combat these threats. The strong national security should compose hard and soft security policies together.

Putin is a significant politician with his dominant character and his perception of the new world. There are two main reasons why Putin was significant for Russia in the post-Soviet era. Putin was appointed acting president and following elections in March 2000 with 53 percent of vote. Furthermore, Putin has several contributions to the evolution of Russian security. Firstly, Russia decided to orient the West with building cooperation. Secondly, the recognition of the importance of soft security dimension in international relations and thirdly, his political priority to take place in multi-polar world as one of strongest country with its economy, military, political and social developments⁷⁸. On the other hand, Russia has several deficiencies establishing democratic values such as human rights, freedom of speech, and existence of civil society. Moreover, Putin was not eager to develop these values under his presidency.

Putin believes that security is the primary subject of Russia. Russia's geo-political condition supports his ideas, because Russia has a lot of neighbours from East Europe, Far East, Central Asia, Middle East, and the Caucasus and so on. Thus, the requirement of producing miscellaneous policies and perceiving different threats from them has caused strong national security policy. In that respect, high security need pull a head of Russian national priorities.

The new policies of Putin targeting to establish powerful state in the region and the world forced Russia to move towards international cooperation and good relations with the West⁷⁹. The article argued that Russia's aim to be one of powerful states in the new world system based on generating its soft security policies.

⁷⁶ Dmitry Polikanov and Graham Timmis, *Russian Foreign Policy under Putin*, in Cameron Ross (ed.), *Russian Politics under Putin*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004, p. 223.

⁷⁷ Hüseyin Bağcı, *Güvenlik Politikaları ve Risk Analizi Çerçevesinde Balkanlar (1991-1993)* [Security Politics and Balkans by the context of Risk Analysis (1991-1993)], Ankara: Dış Politika Enstitüsü, 1994, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Polikanov and Timmis, *op. cit.*, 2004.

⁷⁹ Lena Johnson, *Vladimir Putin and Central Asia: The Shaping of the Russian Foreign Policy*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2004, p. 6.

Furthermore, Russia has caught the world under Putin. Besides Putin's characteristic features, Russia started to generate these policies just in time. The September 11 was the turning point not only Russia, but also every country in the World. Countries understand the importance of soft security policies.

In that respect, the introduction part of the article mentioned the theoretical perspective of soft security based on contrary to mainstream argument which claimed that of Russia has Soviet heritage and military is the only centre to determine the security policy. It is not wrong to state that Russia has strong and developed army and military equipment with highly technological matters. On the contrary to mainstream argument, Russia has perceived non-military issues as threats against its national security. There is not much emphasis on soft security issues in the literature and only a few articles are written about Russian soft security policy. The thesis targeted to prove the importance of soft security issues for the Russia case.

Russian national security doctrines are the best proofs to illustrate Russian consideration of soft security policies. The thesis mentioned five national security doctrines; Russian Security Blueprint Concepts 2000, The May 2000 Russian Military Doctrine, the Concept of the World in the 21st Century, Foreign Policy of Russia and Russia's Development Strategy to the year 2011. Russian national security doctrines demonstrate the reality of Russia. The doctrines are very much obvious that they identify all hard and soft security threats and struggle methods. The thesis focused on soft security matters. The Russian National Security Concept 2000 identified Russian priorities for its national security. Stability and security are the main aims of new Russian national security concept whereas economy, politics, technology, science, environment and information constitute the parts of Russian national security. Furthermore, Russia recognized and directly focused on soft security threats in the doctrine.

Russia emphasized its new military doctrine to mutual cooperation of states. Arms control agreements and treaties are the best proof to show Russian willingness. On the other hand, the doctrine is very obvious that in any emergency case, Russia does not hesitate to use military power. Respecting international agreements takes advantage to Russia in international arena. The SCO, BLACKSEAFOR, agreements with OSCE showed that Russia tries to be regional power with soft security policies. Other doctrines in Chapter two mentioned the importance of non-military issues especially three Russian basic soft security threats; terrorism, transnational organized crime and energy security. Russia tries to prove the world that it is ready for new world system and it can be perceived one of crucial states in the region and also in the world with its natural resources, political, military and non-military capacities.

The September 11 was an important date for Russia because terrorism perceived as a soft security threat after the date. Russia is the permanent member of the UN Security Council. Thus, Russia perceives every terrorist activity against any country as a threat against itself.

Military capacity is an obligation in that point. However, without soft security solutions, military capacity expresses nothing. Thus, countries have to build cooperation and mutual relations. Terrorism has never ended but can be controlled,

because some states help terrorist organisations. Interdependency of states blocked this threat. Russia has participated in several acts and conventions about terrorism.

Territorial integrity is one of national security aims of Russia. Chechen problem has been the most dangerous threat for Russia. Up to now, it is seen that Russia prefers to use military power to block that threat. There are several criticisms from the West. However, Russia's policies especially after the school tragedy in Beslan were very aggressive. Thus, Russia is not very successful using soft security practices about Chechen problem. Every country can encounter similar minority problems. Furthermore, external relations have triggered internal problems. Regarding the Chechen case, Chechen terrorists trained and funded by other terrorist organizations and a few of countries. Military problems blocked countries development. Thus, Russia needs to solve Chechen problem rooted by using soft security policies. Chapter Three focused on the issue deeply. It was mentioned several soft security implementations but comparing to other two soft security threats of Russia, there is no functional policies.

Translational organized crime is another soft security threat for Russia. The significance of organized crime, Russia's struggle methods in internal and external level was mentioned in detail in the Chapter four. Translational organized crime existed in the 1990s. Thus, it is a new problem for all countries. Russia's position in this subject is very complicated as it acts as a sending, receiving and transit country for illegal migrants⁸⁰, because of its complicated but very important condition, Russia has to generate soft security policies against translational organized crime. Different from terrorism, Russia does not have any chance to control translational organized crime with hard security policies. There is no direct enemy in this field, so actions have to be more functional in the scope of soft security matters.

Russia signed and ratified several agreements and conventions about the issue in international arena, but it is difficult to block that illegal trafficking is related with mafia organizations. Russia's economic condition is strongly related with this subject, because the huge gap between rich and poor people causes translational organized crime.

Generally, Russia mentioned how to prevent composed soft security problems. The important point of soft security policies is to focus on how to prevent soft security threats at the beginning. Russia has relations with the West about the issue. Furthermore, European countries regard Russia on translational organized crime, because Russia is a gate for Central Asia and other Asian countries. Nearly 300.000 transit migrant use that route. Thus, Europe signed several agreements with Russia. This situation is an advantage for Russia in order to be closer with the West.

Energy security is the subject of Russian soft security. Countries have different positions on that issue; producers, consumers and transit countries. Russia is supplier and transit country of crucial natural resources in the world; oil and natural gas. The interdependency theory gives priority to economic power and translational actors

⁸⁰ Irina Ivakhniouk, *Illegal Migration: Russia*, in Anne Aldis and Herd P. Graeme (eds.), *Soft Security Threats and European Security*, New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2005, p. 36.

besides states. Moreover, it claims that economic powers will be dominant in the future. Today also economic powers are dominants. Russia's assertion about the one of powerful country is based on interdependency theory. Energy is a strong trump of Russia. In that respect, Russia is a soft security threat for other consumer countries.

Energy security composes infrastructure security. Pipeline system links countries. But also it creates big threats for supplier and transit country, because it opens to terrorist attacks. The Chapter Five analysed Russian oil and natural gas pipelines to understand mutual dependency in the region. The future of Russian economy depends on progress in the high technology and science-intensive sectors⁸¹. In that respect, energy sector of Russia needs to use more high technologies and furthermore, Russia produces its own capabilities in that sector.

Russia's basic aim is to build applicable soft security on its national security to increase its relative power and influence in the region and also in the World. In this scope, Russia does not choose to cooperate with other countries and limit its freedom of action under its society. Russia's main perspective on building national security still remain aggressive and based on hard security and soft security together. Under Putin presidency, Russia has understood that only integration to the West can help their country become a modern state⁸². Putin tried to build constructive relations with NATO, WTO, Europe and the U.S. during his presidency⁸³. Although, Russia needs more soft security practices for fight against terrorism, Russian soft security policies gained ground on translational organized crime and energy security.

⁸¹ Richard Sakwa, *Putin: Russia's Choice*, New York: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2008, p. 326.

⁸² Lilia Shevtsova, *Putin's Russia*, (Washington D.C: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003, p. 262.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

CHINA AT THE BEGINNING OF 3RD MILLENNIUM: GEOPOLITICAL PERSPECTIVES

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“May you live in interesting times”¹

Rezumat: *Articolul prezintă și analizează succint principalele atuuri geoistorice, geoeconomice și geostrategice ale Chinei, în încercarea sa de a deveni putere hegemonică regională și, în circumstanțe speciale, mondială. Mai întâi este prezentat un background istoric al acestei țări, sursă de auto-încredere și de naștere a „mentalității chineze”, diferită de cea occidentală. În continuare, este prezentată esența strategiei navale (Haijun Zhanlue) chineze contemporane, element esențial al geostrategiei actuale a acestei țări. Politicile și resursele economice ale țării – elemente fundamentale ale geopoliticii sale – beneficiază de o tratare mai amănunțită. Partea finală a articolului trece în revistă și analizează avantajele și dezavantajele strategice, politica față de Asia Centrală și obiectivul fundamental al Chinei – dobândirea calității de hegemon regional.*

În concluzie, autorii consideră că pentru a deveni prima superputere a lumii în următoarele 2-3 decenii, China are nevoie de un amestec de conducere genială, creștere economică, modernizare (nu occidentalizare), mentalitate chineză și „calea chineză a vieții” (ultimele două bazate pe Tao). Dacă un singur element al acestei combinații nu va funcționa cum trebuie, acest „vis chinez” nu va putea fi îndeplinit.

Abstract: *The paper presents and briefly examines the main geohistorical, geoeconomic and geostrategic advantages of China, related to this attempt to become a regional hegemonic power and, in special circumstances, a worldwide superpower. First, is presented a historical background of the country, a source of self-confidence and rise of the so-called “Chinese mentality”, different of Western mentality. Further is shown the essence of the Chinese contemporary naval strategy (Haijun Zhanlue), currently an essential element of geostrategy of this country. Policies and economic resources of the country – the fundamental elements of its geopolitics – are more detailed presented. The final part of the article reviews and analyzes the advantages and disadvantages of strategic policy towards Central Asia and China’s fundamental goal – gaining of the regional hegemonic power status.*

¹ Ancient Chinese curse.

In conclusion, the authors consider that in order to become the first superpower of the world in the next 2-3 decades, China needs a mixture of brilliant leadership, economic growth, modernization (not Westernization!), Chinese mentality and “Chinese way of life” (last two based on Tao). If a single element of this combination will not work properly, this “Chinese dream” will not be achieved.

Résumé: *L'article ci-joint présente et analyse de manière succincte les principaux atouts géohistoriques, géoéconomiques et géostratégiques de la Chine, dans son essai de devenir une puissance hégémonique régionale et, dans des circonstances spéciales, mondiale. Premièrement, on y présente un background historique de ce pays, source d'auto-confiance et de naissance de la “mentalité chinoise”, différente de celle occidentale. Ensuite, on présente l'essence de la stratégie navale (Haijun Zhanlue) chinoise contemporaine, élément essentiel de la géostratégie actuelle de ce pays. Les politiques et les ressources économiques du pays – éléments fondamentaux de sa géopolitique – bénéficièrent d'un abord plus détaillé. La partie finale de l'article passe en revue et analyse les avantages et les désavantages stratégiques, la politique envers l'Asie Centrale et l'objectif fondamental de la Chine – acquérir la qualité de hégémon régional.*

En conclusion, les auteurs considèrent que, pour que la Chine devienne la première superpuissance du monde les 2 ou 3 décennies suivantes, celle-ci a besoin d'un mélange de direction géniale, croissance économique, modernisation (pas occidentalisation), mentalité chinoise et “le chemin chinois de la vie” (les dernières deux basées sur Tao). Si un seul élément de cette combinaison ne fonctionnera pas comme il faut, ce “rêve chinois” ne pourra pas être accompli.

Keywords: *China, geohistory, naval strategy, geostrategy, economic policies, economic resources, strategic advantages, strategic vulnerabilities, Central Asia, regional hegemony.*

Introduction

Indeed, in terms of geopolitical perspectives, nowadays China is living interesting times.

Samuel Huntington predicted that, after the end of the Cold War, China will have to choose between two goals: “... to become the champion of Chinese Culture, the core state civilization magnet toward which all other Chinese communities would orient themselves, and to resume its historical position, which it lost in the nineteenth century, as the hegemonic power in East Asia”². In our century – at least apparently, there is a third possibility for China: to build the most powerful economy in the world.

Undoubtedly, China is nowadays the second economic power of the world and its admirers consider that it would become the first power (including militarily) in the near future, surpassing USA. The sceptical analysers consider that China cannot become a superpower too quickly because its “economic miracle” will end as all

² Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order*, London, Touchstone Books, 1998, p. 168.

miracles of this type³.

The authors of this paper will try to offer to the reader information concerning geohistorical background and geostrategy of the country, its economic resources, “strong” and “weak” points of its general geopolitics, which could clarify these opposing views.

The final conclusions could perhaps help to get a right answer: will be or will be not possible for China to surpass and replace the global power of USA?

Geohistorical background

Historical past of a so large country, with an ancient, conservative culture and civilization, undoubtedly influence its nowadays geopolitics, giving to the Chinese people a general sentiment of pride and superiority over other nations.

The Chinese people, according to an anthropologic point of view, belong to the Asian sub-race, eastern type or Pacific, that is closest to the median Mongolian anthropologic features and live mainly in the central-eastern and north-eastern regions of China⁴.

One of the first document certifications of China was *Zhongguo*, meaning *Middle Kingdom* or *The Centre of the World*⁵. If for the ancient civilizations acculturation and people or (and) idea exchange were characteristic, China got highlighted even from the beginning by Sino-centrism and blatantly disregard towards the rest of the world. The Chinese Imperial ideology considered China to be *The Sky Dynasty*, the centre of the civilized world, all of the other states being considered vassal and tributary to the suzerain Chinese empire. In the case of ancient China, the main characteristics were demographic gigantism, space unity and civilization cohesion⁶.

The Chinese population history is tightly tied to the two great rivers, Yellow (Chin. *Huang He*) and Blue (Chin. *Yangtze*, or *Chang Jiang*, i.e. “The Long River”), but also to the coast area of the Yellow Sea and of the Eastern Chinese Sea. This piece of land is very favourable to agriculture and it represents the cradle of the Chinese civilization and even nowadays it is the most densely populated area in all of

³ George Friedman, *Următorul deceniu. De unde venim ... și încotro ne îndreptăm* [The next decade: Where We've Been ... and Where We're Going], translated from English into Romanian by Radu Cristian Pop, Bucharest, Litera Publishing House, 2011, p. 219. The first edition: George Friedman, *The next decade: Where We've Been ... and Where We're Going*, New York et al., Double Day, Random House Inc, 2011.

⁴ Alexandru Ungureanu, Ionel Muntele, *Geografia populației* [Geography of Population], Iași, Sedcom Libris Publishing House, 2006, p. 127.

⁵ Michael Lynch, *China: de la Imperiu la Republica Populară 1900-1949* [China: from Empire to People's Republic 1900-1949], translated from English into Romanian by Simona Ceașu, Bucharest, Bic All Publishing House, 2004, p. 5. The first edition: Michael Lynch, *China: from Empire to People's Republic 1900-1949*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1996.

⁶ Silviu Neguț, Horia C. Matei, Ion Nicolae, Caterina Radu, *Enciclopedia Asiei* [Encyclopedia of Asia], Bucharest, Meronia Publishing House, 1999, pp. 111-112.

China. The development of the Chinese population in the Great Chinese Plain and alongside the Yellow Sea coastline was determined by the less favourable conditions from the West, but which provided a natural protection for the *Middle Kingdom*. During the course of history, in the South-West, China was protected by the Himalaya Mountains and by the Tibet plain and in the East, the Xin Jiang area was protected by the Takla-Makan desert and also by the Tian Shan Mountains. In the northern side, facing Mongolia, it was protected by the Gobi desert⁷.

The northern side was always exposed to invasions, this flank being the most vulnerable to invasions, as demonstrated by the *Xiong-nu*, *Jurken*, Mongol and later the Manchurian and Japanese incursions (it wasn't by accident that the Chinese emperors built the greatest defensive structure of all times, The Great Wall). This way, in the ancient period, the greatest threat to China was the northern civilizations of Altaic⁸ origin, named by the Chinese *Xiong-nu*, which managed to organize an empire around the year 210 BC⁹.

In the medieval period, China was the most advanced state in the world in terms of administration and technology, being strong on both continent and sea. In 1382, the Chinese defeated the Mongols, all of the survivors being castrated, a part of them being enrolled in the army and the others being used as servants¹⁰. The eunuchs became the emperors trusted group and they extended their influence, entering into conflict with the mandarins – state officials, trained after the Confucian way¹¹. This

⁷ Marius Lungu, *Atlas geografic general* [Geographical General Atlas], Constanța, Steaua Nordului Publishing House, 2009, pp. 44-45.

⁸ The *Hiong-nu* tribes did not belong to the altaic family, fact highlighted even by the Chinese writings, as they were not so tall, robust, with a big, round head, oblique eyes, prominent cheekbones and a flat nose. They used to live in tents made out of felt and their main occupation was cattle breeding on large surfaces of the steppe. For further details, see Jean-Paul Roux, *Asia Centrală. Istorie și Civilizație* [Central Asia. History and Civilization], translated from French into Romanian by Lucia Postelnicu Pop, Bucharest, Artemis Publishing House, 2007, pp. 84-85. The first edition: Jean-Paul Roux, *L'Asie centrale, histoire et civilisation*, Paris, Fayard, 1997.

⁹ The most truthful opinion is that the *Hiong-nu* population is a Prototurkish one because the *Tukiu* tribes, one of the first Turkish tribes in history, consider themselves a being descendants of the *Hiong-nu* tribes and are aware of the belonging to the same family. The military superiority of the *Hiong-nu* tribes was given by the cavalry and by the manoeuvring abilities in battle. For further details see Nicola Di Cosmo, *Ancient China and its enemies: the rise of nomadic power in East Asia history*, Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 276.

¹⁰ Gavin Menzies, *1421 – Anul în care China a descoperit lumea* [1421 – The Year China discovered the World], translated from English into Romanian by Luttmann Pia Maria, Martina Gabriela, Gheorghiu Adriana, Bucharest, House of Guides Publishing House, 2007, p. 39. The first edition: Gavin Menzies, *1421: The Year China Discovered the World*, London, Bentam Press, 2002.

¹¹ On one side, being guardians of the harem, spies for the Emperor, officers and high dignitaries. On the other side, the Confucian ethics inoculated the mandarins a moral code that was meant to remove the possibility that people could disturb Tao - the balance of the

way, in the beginning of the Ming dynasty, two camps were formed with different opinions: on one side, the eunuch's side – adept of the Mongol traditions of military and economic expansion (they began sea campaigns for new discoveries and charting) and religious plurality (a great number of eunuchs were Muslims); and on the other side, the mandarin camp – conservators, xenophobe, adepts of continental isolationism. This confrontation was to mark the destiny of the Ming dynasty, separating the reign into two periods depending on the group that had control, meaning: 1364-1450 when China, under the influence of the eunuchs, has continued the Mongol tradition of commercial and military expansion, and the second reign (1449-1644) after the battle lost by the Chinese against the Mongols in the year 1449 at Tu-Mu, when the power was taken forever by the mandarin party, moment which lead to the end of the Chinese offensive and the start of the decline. This way, the Mandarins decided to quit the expansionist and external *commercial* plans, to destroy the fleet, to pull back China from the southern routes, this vacuum being occupied by the European sea powers¹². Self-isolation occurred in a moment in which China held the supremacy, compared to Europe, on sea and in the field of scientific discoveries in all domains¹³.

China was undoubtedly a regional power until in the 19th century, when this status was seriously challenged by England, Russia and Japan¹⁴. *The Middle Kingdom* is again a great power only in the second half of the twentieth century, in the communist period imposed by Mao Zedong in 1949, but then, as a land power, had to face the challenge of a sea power, i.e. USA.

Antagonism between land and sea powers was best theorized by the British geostrategist Halford. J. Mackinder. He had created a bipolar system, splitting the world into sea powers and continental powers, after a history interpretation scheme by a geographical prism, grid taken also by Karl Haushofer, which defines with the help

forces of nature. The mandarins were conservatives and they considered peasants as being the backbone of society, and foreigners and traders as being disturbing elements to Tao. For further details, see Gavin Menzies, *1421 – Anul în care China a descoperit lumea*, p 40.

¹² Jakub J. Grygiel, *Great Powers and geopolitical change*, Baltimore (USA), Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006, pp 123-125.

¹³ For example, in 1421, the great Chinese fleet, lead by the Muslim eunuch admiral Zheng He, started to chart the world was formed by 317 ships and 28,000 people, while Columbus went to sea with only 4 ships and 150 sailors; the Chinese fleet flagship was almost four time bigger than the Santa Maria from the Columbus fleet and the smallest ship from the Zheng He fleet was twice as big as the Spanish galleons. In the year 1500, the Chinese imperial court decreed the ban of ship building, and a remarkable technologic advance and strategic advantage was disrupted for a couple of centuries; for further details, see Paul Dobrescu, *Viclenia Globalizării. Asaltul asupra puterii americane* [The trickery of globalization. The assault on the American power], Iași, European Institute Publishing House, 2010, p. 151.

¹⁴ See on this aspects especially Henry Kissinger, *On China* [On China], translated from English into Romanian by Vladimir Borțun and Dan Flonta, Bucharest, Comunicare.ro Publishing House, 2012, pp. 38-80. The First Edition: Henry Kissinger, *On China*, New York, The Penguin Press, 2011.

of an metaphor, promoted by Alfred T. Mahan - sea powers strategy to surround with the help of a series of military bases the Eurasian mass and afterwards to suppress the continental powers – i.e. the so-called *anaconda strategy*. During the Cold War, the bipolar scheme was inevitable, in which the sea powers of the world would be lead by the United States of America, leader of the democratic world, and managing to surround the continental powers, communists at that time, represented by the U.R.S.S. and China. This eventually led to the *containment* strategy scheme introduced by George Kennan, which actually represented a core of the American strategy in a bipolar world¹⁵.

Washington's strategy was to push the American sea force into the influence zone of China, fact that displeased Beijing, considering it, exactly as it was, a form of encirclement. This way, China could not harness its dual geographic nature – a striking continental dimension and a strong oceanic perspective. We also highlight the fact that, for Beijing, the option for continental dimensions would involve a competition on the Eurasian mass, more precisely in Central Asia and Siberia, with Russia, whereas the ocean competition would involve a competition with the U.S.A., especially in the Pacific Ocean. Our own point of view is that China acts on two fronts – one on the eastern side – on sea, and the west one – continental, reiterating its ancient appellation of *The Middle Empire*¹⁶.

Until now, both scholars and average people from China consider the 19th and the first half of the 20th century a period of “humiliation” of their country by the foreigners, which ended in 1949. **We consider that this generalized perception plays a major role in building China's current geostrategy (and, subsequently, geopolitics).**

China's current naval strategy (Chin. *Haijun Zhanlue*)

Nowadays China's geostrategy is generally based on a naval strategy. It was elaborated approximately in 1982 by Admiral Liu Huaqing and states the gradual expansion of China's sea interests, crossing from a coastal defence to an offshore defence, and as perspective, the projection of force in the Planetary Ocean (Engl. “Blue water strategy”).

For the achievement of this strategy, in the first stage, the expansion of the sea protection till the *first island chain* (Engl. “brown-water theory”) is essential, the chain expanding from Vladivostok in the North, till the Strait of Malacca in the South. In the second stage, programmed for 2020-2040, the Chinese navy (and air force) will have to secure the perimeter of the *second islands chain* (Chin. *Di'er Daolian*; Engl. “green-water theory”). It holds in North the Kurile Islands, including the Bonin and Marian islands and Papua New Guinea to the South. In this phase of its strategy, it is supposed that China will be able to develop a naval capacity at least

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁶ Victor Ionescu, *Caspica – ambientul geopolitic și geostrategic* [Caspica – geopolitical and geostrategical ambient], in „GeoPolitica”, Top Form Publishing House, Bucharest, no.16-17, 2006, p. 65.

equal to the one owned by the U.S.A.¹⁷.

Quite worrying for his adversaries are the estimations made by two U.S. think-tanks (CSBA and RAND): China is able by 2020 to fulfil the strategy regarding *the first island chain*¹⁸.

All the same, George Friedman consider that China needs generations of people to build a true naval power, not only technically speaking, but also in order to transfer experience from one generation to another, which is the only way to get good admirals. In his opinion, Chinese navy will not be able in the next decade to eliminate the American navy from China's regional waters¹⁹.

It is interesting to remark that nowadays China holds the stealth plane technology, is building fighter carriers and has made great progress in the field of military satellites²⁰.

We estimate that the presence of the American naval forces in the proximity of the Chinese coast hinders for this country not only the valuing of the sea scale but also of the continental one. We cannot ignore the fact that the continental perspective has become very attractive to Beijing, once the dissolution of the Soviet Union has started. Also, Beijing was forced to discover new oil reserves at the Central Asian border, fact which determined China to intensify its efforts to stabilize the Xinjiang province and furthermore to modernize it.

China did not hesitate to take advantage of the U.R.S.S. dissolution, jump-starting its relations with the countries in Central Asia, Beijing manifesting strategic interests in that area. China had a rather reserved strategy towards Central Asia, incorporated in a flexible tactic, without generating tensions in the relations with other states. The development of a new type of strategy attracted regional powers into China's sphere of influence, and the term continental, Eurasian expansion of China was symbolized by the initiation and expansion of the Cooperation Organization from Shanghai, in alternative to the expansion of N.A.T.O., counteracting the American interests in Central Asia. For China, the creation and development of the organization meant establishing some links with regional powers – Russia, India, Pakistan, Iran, but also with countries that possess great amounts of hydrocarbons, including the ones not exploited – Russia, Iran, Mongolia, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan. The energetic constraints determined by the industrial development rhythm have forced China to

¹⁷ Vasile Simileanu, *Geopolitica spațiului islamic* [Geopolitics of the Islamic space], vol. 3, *Spațiul Islamic – geopolitică aplicată* – [Islamic space: implemented geopolitics], Bucharest, Top Form Publishing House, 2009, pp. 173-176. See also a comprehensive description of this strategy in Stacy A. Pedrozo, *China's Active Defense Strategy and its Regional Impact*, in http://www.uscc.gov/hearings/2011hearings/transcripts/11_01_27_trans/pedrozo_testimony.pdf. Accessed in 15.11.2012

¹⁸ <http://www.economist.com/node/21552193>. Accessed in 15.11.2012

¹⁹ George Friedman, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-217.

²⁰ Stéphane Marchand, *Când China va învinge* [When China Will Win], translated from French into Romanian by Constantinescu Nicolae, Bucharest, Pro Editură și Tipografie Printing House, 2008, pp. 81, 214. The first edition: *Quand la Chine veut vaincre*, Paris, Fayard, 2007.

exploit raw materials from the exterior, Central Asia representing the best choice because of the close proximity, that lead to low transportation costs.

Economic policies and resources

The Chinese economy was until 1978 a typical one for a communist, developing country. In that time, the vice-premier Deng Xiaoping launched some profound reforms, in order to modernize Chinese economy and society. These reforms were implemented in the following fields of activity: agriculture, industry, science and technology, defence, foreign²¹. The most important reform implemented in the time of this visionary leader was that concerning the direct foreign investments in China. Actually, nowadays Chinese “economic miracle” is based on this reform, very well described by Joan Edelman Spero.

“Another major change for China is its new interest in encouraging foreign direct investment and joint ventures with the West. As in many developing countries, China hopes to benefit from technology transfers embodied in these investments and also to take advantage of revenues generated from the exports created by these companies. China has taken many steps to encourage foreign investment but has found it difficult to provide an environment that is attractive to foreign investors. It has opened five special economic zones (SEZs), which encourage foreign investment and production for export by offering favourable tax treatment, special profit repatriation agreements, and other inducements to foreign investors. Fourteen other coastal cities offer similar incentives. A joint-venture law was passed in April 1988, to provide a legal framework for foreigners doing business in China”²².

After 1990 China became a big importer of raw material extremely necessary for its accelerated development. Therefore, the external Chinese politics followed prevalently the development of the relationship with the countries rich in raw material. The Chinese companies made great investments in African countries as Sudan, Angola, Zimbabwe, South American as Brazil, Peru, Venezuela and Porto Rico. Also, they made investments in Asian countries as Kazakhstan, Iran, Turkmenistan, Burma and in countries from the Middle East as Saudi Arabia, Oman, Yemen, rich in oil and natural gas.

China made as a main goal the performance development of its multinational companies, which are State companies, considering their transformation in global players. They are usually sustained by preferential financing, tax exemption and political support on the international arena, in order to become authentic multinational companies. China explicitly began a program for big cross-border acquisitions. The objective of these acquisitions is to assure for China the access to raw material, technology, know-how, managerial and layout abilities, producers, providers and business markets.

We will present to the reader a brief statistic concerning the economic resources of China.

²¹ Joan Edelman Spero, *The Politics of International Economic Relations*, fourth edition, London, Routledge, 1993, pp. 337-338.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 340.

Coal stocks. China is among the three states that have more than 70% of the possible coal stocks, together with Russia and USA²³. All the same, China comes to the front with the fact that it brings about 33% of the world production for superior coal and in 2008 it had stocks of about 114.5 thousand million tons of coal²⁴.

Therefore, Beijing is nowadays on the first place as a world coal producer having a quota of 2/5 of the world production, this fact having an important role in covering the electricity for the country. Consequently, the coals have a big influence, representing 4/5 in the energetic balance of China. The coals are the main source for the energetic industry of the country²⁵.

China has 62.2 thousand million tons of coal and 52.3 thousand million tons of lignite, according to the estimations done in 1999²⁶. The main coal catchment area are in the North-Eastern China, in Fushun and Benxi regions, in the North of the country, in Taiyuan and Datong regions, in Shanxi and Shenxi provinces, in the Central part, in Eastern and South-Eastern part²⁷.

Oil and natural gas stocks. China has oil stocks of 2.1 thousand million tons, being known, in 2008, as having an oil production of 189.7 thousand million tons, representing 4.8% of the world production²⁸. Despite the high oil production, China is one of the biggest oil importers in order to preserve its industrial development rhythm, considering that, in 2008, it burned 375.7 thousand million tons of oil²⁹. Important oil exploitations are in North China, in Takeng area and Shengli region – the delta of the Huang He River and in the area of the Bohai bay. Other extraction areas are in North-Western China, in Xinjiang region and North-Eastern China in Songliao³⁰ province. Concerning the purification capacity it is known that, in 2008, China held the world second place with 8.7% capacity³¹.

Likewise, according to the statistics, in 2008, China held the world ninth place among the producer countries for natural gas, with a rate of 76.1 thousand million cubic meters, representing 2.5% of the global production and having stocks of 2460 thousand million cubic meters³².

Electricity. In 2007, China held the world second place in the top of electricity producers, having a percentage of 15.1% of the whole world amount³³.

²³ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *Geografie economică mondială* [World Economic Geography], Bucharest, Meteor Press Publishing House, 2009, p. 36.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²⁶ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei* [Economic geography. Earth's resources], Bucharest, Meteor Press Publishing House, 2003, p. 135.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

²⁸ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *op. cit.*, pp. 51-52.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 64.

³⁰ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

³¹ Silviu Neguț (Coordinator) et al., *op. cit.*, p. 63.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 70.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

Iron ore stocks. In 2008, China was the main world producer for iron ore with a yield of 770 thousand million tons, being also the most important importer of iron ore. In 2008, China was on the first place for the steel production with 513 thousand million tons, representing 37.7% of the world production³⁴. The main bases of metallurgy are situated in the North-Eastern China, at Anshan, Shenyang, Fushun, Benxi. In the North part there are metallurgy bases at Tayuan and Beijing and in the Central part there are metallurgy bases at Wuhan and Maanshan³⁵.

In 2008, China had the first world production for the cast iron and iron alloy with 478 thousand million tons, representing half of the world production³⁶.

Copper stocks. China is on the fourth world place for the copper ore production with 1000 thousand tons, representing 6.4 % from the world amount and the second place for the purified copper production with 2 150 000 tons in 2006, representing 14% of the world total amount³⁷.

Aluminium stocks. China is the second world producer for bauxite with more than 15% of the world production and in 2008 it was on the first place for the aluminium production with 13 500 000 tons, representing 34% of the world total amount³⁸.

Lead stocks. In 2008 China was on the first world place for the lead production with 1540 thousand tons, representing 40.5% of the world total amount³⁹.

Zinc stocks. In 2008, China was on the first world place for the zinc production with 3,200,000 tons, representing 28.3% of the world production⁴⁰.

Tin stocks (i.e. Sn, Staniu). In 2008, China was on the first world place for the tin production with 150 000 tons, representing 45% of the world total amount⁴¹.

Tin stocks. China has 27% of the tin world stocks⁴².

Gold stocks. In 2008 China was on the first world place for the gold production with 295 tons, representing 12.7% from world total amount⁴³.

Silver stocks. China was on the third world place in 2008 for the silver production with 2 600 tons, representing 12.4% from world total amount⁴⁴.

High industrial fields. In 2008 China was on the second world place for the vehicles production, representing 13.2% from world total amount and in 2003, on the third world place for the commercial ship production, having 11.3% from world total amount⁴⁵.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 104.

³⁵ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *op.cit.*, p. 198.

³⁶ Silviu Negut (Coordinator), *op.cit.*, p. 105.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

⁴² Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁴³ Silviu Negut (Coordinator), *op.cit.*, p. 125.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

Forestry assets. China has 1 882 000 square kilometres of forest⁴⁶.

Sea resources. China extracts from sea waters salt (by water evaporation), as well as bromine and magnesium⁴⁷.

China is on the second world place for the algae consumption and for the sea farms, aquatic crops which follow the reproduction and the growing of aquatic animal and vegetal organisms under the man direct assistance (in this top, Japan is on the first place)⁴⁸.

The gross production value in China of the marine industries grew yearly arriving in 2006 at 275 thousand dollars, a 13.97% growth in comparison with the previous year, representing 10.01% of the Chinese gross domestic product (GDP). The value added of the marine industries was of 162.1 thousand millions US dollars and their percentage in GDP grew to 4.01%⁴⁹.

Fishing field. In 2007, China was on the first world place for the fish's quantity with 49.5 thousand million tons⁵⁰.

Rice production. In 2007 China was the main world rice producer with 187 thousand million tons, representing 28.7% of the world production⁵¹.

Wheat production. In 2007 China was on the first world place for the wheat production with 109.8 thousand million tons, representing 18.1% of the world production⁵².

Maize production. In 2007 China was on the second world place for the maize production with 152 thousand million tons, representing 19.4% of the total amount⁵³.

These figures are impressive. All the same, China is relatively poor in mineral resources, the stock per capita being at the half of the world average. 90% and respectively 80% of oil and coal stocks are found in the Northern part of the country. In Xinjiang is the largest affluence of oil, gas, copper and iron, but natural resources are also found in Tibet. The South and South-Eastern regions, the most dynamic economically, are generally lacking in natural resources. Most of the time, is more advantageous for the Chinese government to get supplies from the importation than bring raw material from the North mainland China.

In order to maintain its high growth rate, China will need in the future of massive imports, including hydrocarbons and raw material. This fact require increasingly more money, which must to be obtained generally from difference between imports and exports, China being doomed to export more and more.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 18.

⁴⁹ http://mlr.gov.cn/mlrenglish/communique/2006/200711/t20071108_660721.htm [Ministry of Land and Resources of the People's Republic of China]. Accessed in 07.11.2012

⁵⁰ Silviu Negut (Coordinator), *op.cit.*, p. 201.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 212.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 214.

Strategic vulnerabilities

Although it is the third country in terms of stretch on the globe (after Russia and Canada), occupying almost 7% of Earth's surface, and the first country in terms of demographical density because it holds 20% of the world's population, China confronts itself with a series of vulnerabilities which mainly affects its continental dimension. As we mentioned before, the affirmation as an Eurasian power, involves in Beijing that this dimension would be in detriment to Moscow.

A major imbalance that could influence the capitalization continental perspective is the demographical decrease. This way, in the western half of the country, formed out of mountains and high plateaus with an arid climate, which does not favour living, only 6% of the Chinese population lives there⁵⁴. Instead, most of the Chinese population, the rest of 94%, lives in the eastern side, on the coastal line, on the valleys of the 3 major rivers of South-Eastern and North-Eastern China (moreover, eastern China hosts the highest demographical density in the world).

In Northern China it is located the Yellow River, which has a lower water volume, in the centre of the country is the Yangtze River, transporting a volume of water 20 times higher than the Yellow River, and in the South, the Zhujiang River, about 6 times more abundant in water than the Yellow River. In the river bed of Yangtze are living almost 450 million inhabitants that provide 40% of the Chinese GDP.

In the inferior water catchment area is situated the Shanghai metropolis which along with the surrounding area assures about 10% of the Chinese GDP.

Also, we can notice the fact that the western part of China is not only underpopulated but also the most underdeveloped, and the Tibet and Xianjiang provinces, that could be the launching ramp of the continentals politics, are inhabited mostly by minorities with self-government tendencies and which have different religious beliefs⁵⁵, showing only hostility to Beijing.

Major imbalances are also generated by the accelerated development of the demographic and economical with some severe consequences in terms of ecology and food supplies. In China, only 25% of the country holds high agricultural potential, compared to 60% in the case of the U.S.A. and 80% in the case of Europe. Thus, the population number and the accelerated economical growth of China worsens this balance and accentuates the pressure over the land, over the forests, over the water sources, which can lead to a permanent ecological crisis in the next 50 years⁵⁶.

We also should not ignore the option between the continental and sea dimension, which were experimented ever the course of history by China, with different outcomes. This way, China's history, influenced by the necessity of resolving internal issues, was dominated in certain periods by Sino-centrism, aspect which emphasized the continental dimension of the country. However, the option for continentalism meant an historical failure, as it happened in the 15th and 19th century,

⁵⁴ Paul Dobrescu, *Viclenia globalizării. Asaltul asupra puterii americane*, pp. 146, 148.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

when China provoked its cut from the sea. Instead, the option for the sea way, dominated especially by economical interests, has coincided with a period of development, the period of reference being the 15th century.

In the last decades, China has rethought the ratio between continental and sea dimension, not by moving the capital from Beijing, but moving the countries centre of development to the coast zone, in the Shanghai area. This way, China now tries to make the transition from the continental power to the continental-ocean power, having in mind that, over the course of history, there were powers that followed a similar course of transformation with success (a successful case of this continental-sea synthesis are the United States of America)⁵⁷.

Strategic advantages

The East-Asian economy is built on a Chinese network, made by the technological capacity of Taiwan, the entrepreneurial abilities of Hong Kong, the network communications of Singapore, all of them being completed by a huge amount of financial capital and a strong base of land, resources and work of continental China. Westerners or Japanese cannot do business in China as well as Chinese. This situation which confers a great strategic advantage for China was brilliantly described by Samuel Huntington.

“The emergence of the greater China co-prosperity sphere was greatly facilitated by a “bamboo network” of family and personal relationships a common culture. Overseas Chinese are much more able than either Westerners or Japanese to do business in China. In China trust and commitment depend on personal contacts, not contracts of laws and other legal documents. Western businessmen find it easier to do business in India than in China where the sanctity of an agreement rests on the personal relationship between the parties”⁵⁸.

The welfare field of the Chinese economic network is strong through the ethnic and economical pillars, causing the domination of Beijing in the entire South-East Asia. This domination is strongly helped by a “network of Chinese merchants in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Southeast Asia”⁵⁹.

Lately, the vector of demographic evolution is spreading towards North, where is a low density, towards Mongolia and Siberia⁶⁰.

It is noticeable that the Chinese economical success does not matter on the existence of different political regimes, even though they are in conflict (Beijing – Taipei). The ideological differences, existent only in political plan affects only the unitary development of the Chinese economical potential.

In parallel, the demographic expansion in the North, along with economic interests, could entail, in perspective, a reconsideration of the continental vision, taking into consideration the competition with Russia for Siberia.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

⁵⁸ Samuel Huntington, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Paul Dobrescu, *Viclenia globalizării. Asaltul asupra puterii americane*, p. 154.

Although, in social plan, it has the capacity to generate certain vulnerabilities, the demographic element plays an important part in economical plan. Thus, on one part, China can have a large amount of cheap workforce, which, as we notice, Beijing did not hesitate to use it for the construction of some large projects in the infrastructure area – the true base of economical development. On the other hand, as happened on the course of history, China, especially with the current economical prosperity that displays, represents the biggest market in the world⁶¹.

Central Asia and China's strategy

The Chinese economy is a high energy consumer and requires massive import, and in this case Beijing takes into consideration the development of some safe supply routes and neighbours without internal issues. As we observed, even though I does not benefit from an Eurasian policy in the North-West part of the country, yet the requirements of oil and gas supply cannot determinate Beijing to ignore the Central-Asian potential, even if it involves an economic competition with Moscow. Besides, China does not hesitate to develop partnerships in terms of energy even with Kazakhstan – the main state that sustains the Russian policy in the area. So, in 1997, China and Kazakhstan created a partnership involving a pipeline from the Caspian Sea to Xinjiang (962 kilometres in length), which became functional in 2005. Also, in 2005, China acquired a Kazakh energy company in the disadvantage of a Russian concern (Lukoil). In the same time, China was allowed to exploit important deposits in Kazakhstan; thereby the presence of Beijing balanced the Russian interests in the area⁶².

We emphasize that this policy promoted by China in Central Asia, generated by strict economic necessities, is not limited only to Kazakhstan. Nowadays, in Central Asia, China is building roads, factories, power stations and pipelines for hydrocarbons transportation. In spite of the massive investments in the area, it is observed reluctance against Chinese investments from Central-Asian countries. So, with all the benefits from its presence in Central Asia, there are concerns that the cheap products made in China could affect local markets, being involved the risk of immigration, by the rise in the number of Han population established in Central-Asian region⁶³.

China's strategy for Central Asia was established on three directives:

1. The stability of Central Asia means stability in its Western regions and in Xinjiang;

⁶¹ Paul Dobrescu, *Geopolitica* [Geopolitics], Bucharest, Comunicare.ro Publishing House, 2003, p. 196.

⁶² Constantin Ionuț, *Evoluții Geopolitice în Asia Centrală: Politica României față de statele din regiune (1991-2007)* [Geopolitical evolutions in Central Asia: Romania's policy towards the region states], Bucharest, Top Form: Univers Științific Publishing House, 2011, pp. 99.

⁶³ Hélène Carrère D'Encausse, *URSS a murit, trăiască Rusia, [USSR Died, Long Live Russia]*, translated from French into Romanian by Lucia Postelnicu Pop, Bucharest, Artemis Publishing House, 2010, pp. 126-127.

2. The implication in the Central-Asian dynamics means the supply with energy and other strategic resources, and also breaking the United States and N.A.T.O.'s encirclement;

3. The domination of Central Asia could ensure and increase China's influence in the Middle East, South Asia, Caucasus and Afghanistan. A powerful position in the area (i.e. Central Asia) could open the access to new markets for its products and new ways of access to European markets.

Besides, it is estimated that in the future China will increase its political-economic influence in the Central Asian area by strengthening its external partner status, dominant in the mentioned area⁶⁴. Stating that, for economic reasons, China increased its ambitions and regional influence, depicting a progressive interest in energy-rich states in Central Asia⁶⁵, but an important part in this direction is played by the fear of a possible attraction of the Eastern Turkmenistan in relation to Central-Asian states. We notice that this force of attraction could be powered by ethno-linguistic and confessional aspects. Thereby, it might be taken into account that the large Uyghur community from Xinjiang might want to share the same history as Turkish and Muslim states from Central Asia.

The whole Chinese strategy for Central Asia means the creation of an economic and political dependence, to use it both for providing resources and for obstruction of the American influence in this area⁶⁶. We emphasize that, from this point of view, respectively stopping the American influence in the area, the Chinese interests are the same as the Russian ones and were materialized by founding the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. It is necessary to highlight that the Chinese-Russian alliance has nothing but a situational nature, forced to solve a problem generated by punctual and immediate strategic necessities, i.e. the prevention of American intrusion in the area. However, the Russian-Chinese cooperation is not able to solve the background of the issue, given the existence of some historical disagreements in the bilateral relations on the areas of influence owned in Central Asia and Siberia. Inevitably, by putting again into question the areas under the Chinese influence in Central Asia would induce a gradual tension of the relations with Moscow, that wants to strengthen its position in the area through various projects (Eurasian Union, Collective Security Treaty Organization), even with a political-military collision perspectives. We also consider that Moscow itself is forced to take into consideration an eventual economic consolidation of China by accessing the maritime dimension, with internal implications in the development of North-Western

⁶⁴ Constantin Ionuț, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁶⁵ Zbigniew Brzezinski, *Marea tablă de șah. Supremația americană și imperativele sale geostrategice*, [The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives], translated from English into Romanian by Aureliana Ionescu, Bucharest, Univers Enciclopedic Printing House, 2000, pp.186. The first edition: Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, BasicBooks, Harper Collins Publishers, New York, 1997.

⁶⁶ Constantin Ionuț, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

parts of the country. This fact would allow Beijing to take into consideration the continental option.

Beijing's lack of trust in Moscow could be revealed by the fact that, nowadays, China prefers not to be dependent only on Russia's natural resources. In consequence, we consider that Beijing cannot put its source of power, the economy, at risk and to depend on the oil and gas provided by Moscow. Thereby, China is more and more economically present in Africa, where are many important oil reserves⁶⁷, and other types of natural resources necessary for sustaining the fast developing industry of Beijing⁶⁸.

China's first objective: regional hegemony

We consider that China's immediate perspective doesn't imply a confrontation with Russia, because Beijing has to solve issues regarding other regional powers competitors, such as India and Japan.

So, geography is an important factor that dictates China's interest to ally with Pakistan and establish a military presence in Burma, the geostrategic target of this initiative being India. China's close military cooperation with Pakistan is blocking India's possibilities to gain regional hegemony in South Asia and to become a geopolitical competitor of China. The military cooperation with Burma, for China represents the direct access to the Indian Ocean and the possibility of strategic control in the Strait of Malacca, which can filter Japan's access to Middle Eastern oil and European markets⁶⁹.

The Chinese strategy diverts from the two major objectives of its external policy regarding, on a global scale U.S.A., and on a regional scale, other strong states which may have hegemonic claims.

Thus, the first objective of the Chinese external policy is blocking the American hegemony and power politics, avoiding at the same time a military conflict, which could block China's rise as an economical power. In this respect, China is counting on the anti-American resentments present on a global scale. Viewed from this point, Beijing's policy subordinated to the tactical development of Sino-Russian relations is justified, given that, nowadays, Russia is from all the points of view more vulnerable than China. As a result, we notice that, due to the Soviet Union's dissolution, Beijing has not hesitated to attract Moscow in various forms of cooperation to stop the American influence. Not incidentally, in 1997, Russia and China united against the American hegemony and agreed that the N.A.T.O. expansion is not desirable⁷⁰.

⁶⁷ In Africa, are estimated to be almost 10 billion tons of oil. On the continent exists two large areas where oil is extracted: one in the North in Sahara, which includes: Libya, Algeria, Egypt and Morocco, and the other area in the Gulf of Guinea in the Nigerian zone especially, but also in Gabon and Angola. For details see Stéphane Marchand, *Când China va învinge* [When China Will Win], pp. 284-285.

⁶⁸ Bebe Negoiescu, Gheorghe Vlăsceanu, *Geografie economică. Resursele Terrei* [Economic geography. Earth's resources], Meteor Press Publishing House, Bucharest, 2003, p. 124.

⁶⁹ Zbigniew Brezinski, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

China's second objective is a regional strategy designed to avoid any conflicts with its close neighbours, proceeding at the same time to obtain regional domination⁷¹. We regard that, in reality, the second objective is closely linked to the first one, meaning that Beijing can't afford conflicts with its stronger neighbours, from which USA could benefit by consolidating its influence in the area. Also, these kinds of conflicts could increase the internal weaknesses⁷². For example, we believe that a conflict with India, a demographic colossus, would weaken China in the Tibet region, because of the support given by New Delhi to this region.

Conclusions

If China really wishes to engage in a competition for global leadership against USA, it must preserve a high level of economic growth. The influential American strategist John J. Mearsheimer considers that if China keep a high level of its economic growth, could become a "giant Hong Kong". In that case, it may have a latent power 4 times greater than that of the USA, enough for get a decisive strategic advantage in Northeast Asia⁷³.

The best ally of China on the way of becoming a superpower, which could seriously contest USA's global hegemony, is the ancient mentality of Chinese people, different from the Western mentality. In our opinion, a very good description of this mentality, with its huge potential is given by Kenichi Ohmae, a well-known expert in management. "Why, then, do good development people, well-trained professionals, usually stop short? The answer is simple: **They don't think they are the centre of the universe. They don't have the China mentality – the deep, inner certainty that they can change the world, that if anyone does change the world they will be the ones** (our Bold). This is not the same thing as the NIH (not invented here) syndrome that often gets in the way of productive development work. NIH sufferers can't be bothered to examine or apply good ideas that originate elsewhere. By contrast, the China – *Chu-goku*, literally means "centre of universe" mentality provides the confidence to look at things in a new light and to push beyond the usual answers to get at underlying causes and connections. It is a source of motivation, and

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² Paul Kennedy, *Ascensiunea si decăderea marilor puteri: transformări economice și conflicte militare din 1500 până în 2000* [The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000], translated from English into Romanian by Laurențiu Ursu, Teodora Moldovanu, Lucia Dos, Ramona Lupu, Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2011, p. 406. The representative edition: Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000*, New York, Vintage Books, 1989.

⁷³ John J. Mearsheimer, *Tragedia politicii de forță* [Tragedy of power politics], translated from English into Romanian by Andreea Năstase, Antet Publishing House, 2003, p. 285. The first edition: John J. Mearsheimer, *The tragedy of Great Power Politics*, New York, Norton, 2001.

its effects are *inclusive*. NIH is a source of self-satisfaction, and its effects are *exclusive*”⁷⁴.

Current economic and financial mechanisms are created by Western world and China cannot successfully compete with the West on this ground. In this field, China’s chance would be that after this economic crisis, some more equitable economic and financial mechanisms to be created. Afterwards, China could perhaps profit on this chance. **This is only a hypothetical possibility.**

Really speaking, in order to become the first superpower of the world in the next 2-3 decades, China needs a mixture of brilliant leadership, economic growth, modernization (not Westernization!)⁷⁵, Chinese mentality and “Chinese way of life” (last two based on *Tao*). If a single element of this combination will not work properly, this “Chinese dream” will not be achieved.

⁷⁴ Kenichi Ohmae, *The Borderless World: Power and Strategy in the Interlinked Economy*, New York, Harper Perennial, 1991, p. 79.

⁷⁵ Samuel Huntington clearly dissociated between these two notions.

**ASPEKTE DER SOZIALPOLITIK DER HABSBURGER
IN SIEBENBÜRGEN (1688 – 1790).
MASSNAHMEN ZUR ERHÖHUNG DER ANZAHL
DER EINWOHNER DES FÜRSTENTUMS**

**ASPECTS OF SOCIAL POLICY OF THE HABSBURGS
IN TRANSYLVANIA (1688 - 1790).
MEASURES FOR INCREASE THE NUMBER OF INHABITANTS
OF THE PRINCIPALITY**

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Rezumat: *Monarhii habsburgi vor acorda începând cu a doua jumătate a secolului al XVII – lea sub influența teoriilor mercantiliste și populationiste o importanță din ce în ce mai sporită politicii sociale. Această politică urmărește în primul rând sporirea numărului de locuitori ai imperiului prin diferite măsuri precum: colonizarea unor regiuni ale Monarhiei mai slab populate, asigurarea asistenței medicale a populației și îmbunătățirea alimentației acesteia, precum și în protejarea de către stat a țăranilor aserviți față de abuzurile stăpânilor lor feudali. Habsburgii vor încerca după alipirea Transilvaniei la Monarhie să implementeze o politică socială asemănătoare și în Principat. Ei se va confrunta însă adesea și în această direcție cu opoziția stărilor generale transilvănene. Măsurile luate de Curtea Vieneză referitoare la sporirea numărului de locuitori ai Transilvaniei, măsuri care vor fi analizate în articolul de față, constau în principal în încercările Habsburgilor de aducere de noi coloniști în Principat, în acordarea „cetățeniei transilvănene” unui număr de străini, și nu în ultimul rând în reglementarea fluxului migratoriu peste hotarele Transilvaniei.*

Măsurile luate de Habsburgi în direcția aducerii unui număr mai însemnat de coloniști în Transilvania nu au dat rezultatele scontate în comparație cu vasta acțiune de colonizare a câmpiei ungare și a Banatului din secolul al XVIII – lea. Singura acțiune de colonizare mai importantă este transmutarea forțată între anii 1734 și 1776 a unui număr de circa 4.000 de protestanți din provinciile ereditare austriece în Transilvania, acțiune care a avut de fapt un substrat mai mult religios. O măsură de sporire a numărului de locuitori ai Transilvaniei poate fi considerată și acordarea „cetățeniei transilvănene” unor străini. Este vorba în primul rând de funcționari și militari habsburgi, care au adus slujbe dinastiei în Principat. În anul 1777 a fost acordată „cetățenia transilvană” și negustorilor „greci”, care de fapt locuiau și își desfășurau activitatea de mult timp în Transilvania. Un rol important în direcția reglementării și controlului fluxului migratoriu îl au măsurile habsburgilor vizând reducerea sau chiar întreruperea puternicei emigrații a locuitorilor Transilvaniei, în special a țăranilor aserviți români, în direcția Țării Românești și a Moldovei. Aceste măsuri urmăresc cel puțin menținerea numărului de locuitori ai Principatului transilvănean la nivelul existent.

Abstract: Habsburg monarchs, starting from the second half of the 17th, under the influence of mercantilist and populationist theories, consider the social politics to be increasingly important. This politic approach aims, firstly, to increase the number of inhabitants in the Empire through different measures such as: colonization of less densely populated areas of the Monarchy, medical assistance and better nutrition, protection of peasants against the abuses of feudal aristocracy. The Habsburgs tried, after Transylvania was united to the Monarchy, to implement a similar politic attitude. They were confronted, as in other initiatives, with the opposition of the recognized “nations” (i.e. Noblemen, Saxons and Szeklers) of the Principality. The measures applied by the Viennese court to increase the number of inhabitants in Transylvania, which will be analyzed in this paper, were, basically, bringing colonists to Transylvania, offering “Transylvanian citizenship” to a number of foreigners, and the control of migratory movement over the boundaries of the Principality.

Measures taken by the Habsburgs to bring more colonists in Transylvania were not so successful compare to the vast initiative to colonize the Hungarian Plain and the Banat in the 18th century. The only important colonization was the movement by force, from 1734 and 1776 of 4000 protestant citizens from the hereditary Austrian provinces to Transylvania, which had mostly a confessional aim. Another measure to increase the number of inhabitants of Transylvania could be considered the initiative to offer „Transylvanian citizenship” to some foreigners. We are speaking, firstly, about administrative and military personnel, who served the Monarchy in the Principality. In 1777 the „Transylvanian citizenship” was given to the Greek merchants, who, in fact, were living and working in Transylvania for a long time. An important role in the regulation and control of the migratory flux play the Habsburg measures to decrease and even stop the emigration of the inhabitants of Transylvania, especially Romanian peasants, towards Wallachia and Moldavia. These measures aimed at least maintaining the number of the inhabitants of Transylvania at the existing level.

Résumé: Les monarques habsbourgeois accorderont tout en commençant avec la seconde moitié du XVII-ème siècle, sous l'influence des théories mercantilistes et populationnistes, une influence de plus en plus accrue à la politique sociale. Cette politique suit premièrement l'augmentation du nombre des habitants de l'empire par des mesures différentes comme: la colonisation des régions de la Monarchie plus faiblement peuplées, l'assurance de l'assistance médicale de la population et l'amélioration de l'alimentation de celle-ci, ainsi que la protection par l'Etat des paysans asservis envers les abus de leurs maîtres féodaux. Les Habsbourgeois essayeront après l'union de la Transylvanie à la Monarchie à implémenter une politique sociale semblable dans la Principauté, mais ils se confronteront souvent dans cette direction, aussi, avec l'opposition des états généraux transylvains. Les mesures prises par la Cour viennoise concernant l'augmentation du nombre d'habitants de la Transylvanie, mesures qui seront analysées dans l'article ci-joint, consistaient principalement dans les essais des Habsbourgeois d'apporter de nouveaux colonisés dans la Principauté, dans l'accord de “la citoyenneté transylvaine” à un nombre d'étrangers, et pas finalement, dans la réglementation du flux migratoire au-delà des frontières de la Transylvanie.

Les mesures prises par les Habsbourgeois dans la direction d'apporter un nombre plus grand de colonisés dans la Transylvanie n'eurent pas les résultats escomptés en comparaison avec la vaste action de colonisation de la plaine hongroise et du Banat du XVIII-ème siècle. La seule action de colonisation plus importante est le déménagement forcé entre les années 1734 et 1776 d'un numéro d'environ 4.000 protestants des provinces héréditaires autrichiennes en Transylvanie, action qui eut en fait un substrat plutôt religieux. Une mesure d'augmentation du nombre d'habitants de la Transylvanie peut être considérée, aussi,

l'accord de "la citoyenneté transylvaine" à des étrangers. Il s'agit, premièrement, de fonctionnaires et de militaires habsbourgeois, qui apportèrent des services à la dynastie dans la Principauté. L'année 1777, on accorda "la citoyenneté transylvaine" à des marchands "grecs", qui, en réalité, habitaient et travaillaient depuis longtemps dans la Transylvanie. Les mesures des Habsbourgeois visant la réduction ou même l'interruption de la puissante émigration des habitants de la Transylvanie, spécialement des paysans asservis roumains, dans la direction de la Valachie et de la Moldavie eurent un rôle important dans la direction de la réglementation et le contrôle du flux migratoire. Ces mesures suivent au moins de maintenir le nombre des habitants de la Principauté transylvaine au niveau existant.

Keywords (Stichwörter): Habsburgs (Habsburger); Transylvania (Siebenbürgen); populationism (Populationistik); social policy (Sozialpolitik); measures taken for rise of population (Maßnahme für die Erhöhung der Anzahl der Einwohner)

Die populationistischen Theorien und die Grundzüge der Sozialpolitik der Habsburger

Unter dem Einfluss der Theorien der österreichischen Merkantilisten und aufgrund großer Bevölkerungsverluste durch die Verfolgung der Protestanten, durch den Dreißigjährigen Krieg und die Türkenkriege, aber auch durch Epidemien, kam es bei den habsburgischen Monarchen zu einem wesentlichen Umdenken in ihrer Auffassung. Beginnend mit Leopold I. sahen sich die Habsburger in ihrer Rolle als Herrscher dazu verpflichtet, im Interesse ihrer eigenen Dynastie eine aktive Bevölkerungspolitik zu betreiben. Laut der Auffassung Bechers beruht die Grundlage der Macht eines Staates auf der Größe seiner Bevölkerung.¹ Aus diesem Grund war die Bevölkerungspolitik für Hörnigk „eine der höchsten Staatsangelegenheiten“.² Zu den Pflichten der Monarchen gehörte in den Augen von Schröder auch die Fürsorge um „Wohlfart und Wohlstand der Unterthanen“ als Voraussetzung für die Steigerung der Einkünfte des Staates durch die Existenz einer wirtschaftlich und finanziell starken Bevölkerung.³ Selbst die Entwicklung der Industrie erforderte nach den Auffassungen Hörnigks⁴ und Schröders⁵ die Durchführung einer Bevölkerungspolitik – die Ansiedlung ausländischer Manufakturarbeiter und die Ausbildung der einheimischen

¹ Vgl. Becher Johann, *Politische Discurs von den eigentlichen Ursachen deß Auff - und Abnehmens der Städt, Länder und Republicken*. Unveränderter Neudruck der Ausgabe Frankfurt, 1688. Darmstadt, 1972, S. 2.

² Hörnigk Philipp v., *Österreich über alles, wenn es nur will. Nach der Erstausgabe von 1684 in Normalorthographie übertragen und mit der Auflage von 1753 kollationiert*. In: *Österreich - Reihe*, Bd. 249 / 251, Wien, 1964, S. 104.

³ Schröder Wilhelm v., *Fürstliche Schatz- und Rentkammer, nebst seinem Tractat vom Goldmachen, wie auch vom Ministrissimo oder Oberstaatsbedienten*. Königsberg und Leipzig, 1752. Vaduz / Liechtenstein, 1978, S. 23 f. (Vorrede).

⁴ Vgl. Hörnigk Philipp v., (1964), S. 159 f.

⁵ Vgl. Schröder Wilhelm v., (1978), S. 325

Bevölkerung in Handwerksberufen. Auch Justi und Sonnenfels betonten die Rolle einer entsprechenden Bevölkerungspolitik – die Vermehrung der Bevölkerung durch die Fürsorge um die einheimischen Untertanen und die Einwanderung als Voraussetzung für die wirtschaftliche und militärische Stärke des Staates.⁶

Die Bevölkerungspolitik der Habsburger im merkantilistischen Sinne betraf mehrere Aspekte: Die Vermehrung der Bevölkerung durch eine bessere Gesundheitsversorgung und Ernährung und durch die Ansiedlung von Kolonisten sowie den Schutz der Bauern vor Missbräuchen der Grundherren sowie eine Bildungspolitik. Eine Komponente der Sozialpolitik der Habsburger betrifft die Disziplinierung der Bevölkerung.

Die Grundzüge der Sozialpolitik der Habsburger in Siebenbürgen

Die Eingliederung Siebenbürgens in die Habsburgische Monarchie brachte im Vergleich zur Zeit des autonomen Fürstentums eine lange und fast ununterbrochene Periode des Friedens. Diese Periode, die als „Pax Habsburgica“⁷ bezeichnet werden kann, war eine wichtige Voraussetzung für die weitere Entwicklung⁸ und Modernisierung des Landes nach zentraleuropäischem Muster. In diesem Sinn wurden durch den Wiener Hof verschiedene Maßnahmen in den Bereichen Soziales, Finanzen und Wirtschaft, Administration, Gesetzgebung und Justiz, Militärwesen, Religion, Kultur, Schule und Wissenschaft und nicht zuletzt im Bereich der Rationalisierung der Herrschaft getroffen. In Siebenbürgen mussten die habsburgischen Herrscher ihre Maßnahmen bis zur Zeit Maria Theresias und Joseph II. an die herkömmlichen politischen, sozialen, wirtschaftlichen, religiösen und kulturellen Strukturen des Landes anpassen.

Gerade im ständisch bewussten Siebenbürgen war die Sozialpolitik der Habsburger eine wichtige Komponente der absolutistischen Politik des Wiener Hofes. Was charakterisierte die Sozialpolitik der Habsburger im Fürstentum? Die wichtigen Grundzüge dieser Politik waren: I. Die Politik der Erhöhung der Einwohnerzahl Siebenbürgens mittels verschiedener Methoden, II. die Politik gegenüber den wichtigen ethnischen Gruppen Siebenbürgens – Ungarn, Szekler, Sachsen und Rumänen – und ethnischen Minderheiten, III. die Politik gegenüber den sozialen Gruppen und Kategorien, seien es die Stände oder die einfachen Einwohner – Bauern und arme Staatsbewohner – und nicht zuletzt die Betreibung einer Wohlfahrtspolitik (IV.). Viele Komponenten der Sozialpolitik der Habsburger konnten, genau wie im Fall anderer

⁶ Vgl. Zöllner Erich, *Geschichte Österreichs. Von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, Wien – München, 1990, S. 361.

⁷ Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczi Ambrus, *Siebenbürgen im Habsburgerreich. Das lange 18. Jahrhundert (1711 - 1830)*, in Béla Köpeczi (Hg.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*, Budapest, 1990, S. 408.

⁸ Zur Entwicklungspolitik der Habsburger in den Gebieten des Königreichs Ungarn, die von Osmanen befreit wurden, vgl. auch Heppner Harald, *Die Entwicklungspolitik der Habsburger in Südosteuropa infolge der Türkenkriege*. In: Adam Wandruszka (Hg.), (= Südostdeutsches Archiv, Bd. XXVI / XXVII), München, 1983/1984, S. 88 - 99.

Maßnahmen der Habsburger, in Siebenbürgen, im Gebiet der Grenzregimente und auf den fürstlichen Domänen besser und mit mehr Erfolg durchgeführt werden, als in den Territorien, die sich direkt unter der Verwaltung der drei ständischen Nationen befanden. Im vorliegenden Artikel wird nur der erste Aspekt der Sozialpolitik der Habsburger in Siebenbürgen analysiert und erleuchtet bzw. die Politik der Erhöhung der Einwohnerzahl Siebenbürgens mittels verschiedener Methoden beschrieben.

Die Entwicklung der Einwohnerzahl Siebenbürgens

Wichtig im Zusammenhang mit der Sozialpolitik der Habsburger in Siebenbürgen und insbesondere das Thema des vorliegenden Artikels betreffend ist die Analyse der Entwicklung der Einwohnerzahl. Die Bevölkerung des Fürstentums stieg in dem in der Arbeit analysierten Zeitraum. Die Gründe dafür sind nicht nur in der allgemeinen europäischen Tendenz der Epoche zu finden, die Steigerung der Einwohner aus natürlichen Gründen, die Geburtenrate übertraf die Sterberate, sondern teilweise auch in den Maßnahmen der Habsburger im Bereich der Sozialpolitik. Manche dieser Maßnahmen, wie die Kolonisationspolitik und die Reglementierung der Migration, wurden in einem etwas beschränkten Maße auch von den autonomen siebenbürgischen Fürsten getroffen, andere, wie die Wohlfahrtspolitik des Staates dargestellt am Beispiel der medizinischen Fürsorge und der Verbesserung der Ernährung der Bevölkerung, waren nicht nur für Siebenbürgen, sondern auch für diesen Teil Europas ein Novum.

Die Daten, die die Historiker über die Zahl der Einwohner Siebenbürgens vom Anfang der habsburgischen Herrschaft bis zum Jahr 1720 liefern, sind sehr unterschiedlich. Sie reichen von 500.000 bis zu 1.000.000 Einwohnern.⁹ Auch die Daten, die von verschiedenen hohen Beamten vor der ersten siebenbürgischen Volkszählung stammen, gehen weit auseinander: Von 1.453.742 Personen in der Konfessionsstatistik des Präses des Guberniums, General Hadik, aus dem Jahr 1766¹⁰ bis zu ca. 2.010.000 Einwohnern in einer Konfessionsstatistik des Gouverneurs Auersperg aus dem Jahr 1772.¹¹ In einem Bericht des Generalkommandanten von Siebenbürgen, General von Preiß, aus dem Jahr 1773 wurde die Einwohnerzahl Siebenbürgens auf 1.066.017 Personen geschätzt.¹² Aus den Daten der ersten

⁹ Vgl. Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczy Ambrus, (1990), S. 409; Várkonyi R. Ágnes, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des autonomen Fürstentums (1660 - 1711)*. In: Béla Köpeczi (Hg.), *Kurze Geschichte Siebenbürgens*. Budapest, 1990, S. 381; Răduțiu Aurel, *Populație și societate în Transilvania și Banat* [Die Bevölkerung und die Gesellschaft in Siebenbürgen und im Banat], in Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor. Românii între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor 1711 – 1821* [Die Geschichte Rumäniens. Rumänen zwischen Klassik Europa und Aufklärung Europa]. București, 2002, Bd. 6, S. 79.

¹⁰ Vgl. Müller Konrad, *Siebenbürgische Wirtschaftspolitik unter Maria Theresia*. In: Harold Steinacker (Hg.), (= Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission, Bd. 9), München, 1961, S. 13.

¹¹ Vgl. Răduțiu Aurel, (2002), S. 89.

¹² Vgl. Schaser Angelika, *Siebenbürgen unter der Habsburger Herrschaft im 18. Jahrhundert*.

Volkszählung Siebenbürgens aus den Jahren 1785/86, die an die Wirklichkeit wohl am nächsten herangekommen sein dürfte, resultiert, dass Siebenbürgen 1.577.515 Einwohner hatte.¹³ Als Folge der Zunahme der Bevölkerung im 18. Jahrhundert stieg auch die Zahl der bewohnten Orte von 2.466 am Anfang des Jahrhunderts auf 2.604 laut der ersten Volkszählung.¹⁴ Epidemien und Hungersnöte, die Auswanderung der Bevölkerung, Kriege, politische und soziale Unruhen am Ende des 17. und Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts waren Elemente, die sich auf die Entwicklung der Einwohnerzahl Siebenbürgens negativ auswirkten.¹⁵ Was die Bevölkerungsdichte Siebenbürgens betrifft, war das Fürstentum „das am dichtesten besiedelte Land der ungarischen Reichshälfte“.¹⁶ Mit etwa 13 – 14 Einwohnern pro Quadratkilometer war sie am Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts höher als in anderen mit Siebenbürgen benachbarten habsburgischen Provinzen, wie z.B. im Banat und der Kleinen Walachei.¹⁷

Die Versuche der Erhöhung der Anzahl der Einwohner Siebenbürgens durch verschiedene Methoden

Die Habsburger versuchten in ihrem eigenen Interesse, die Einwohnerzahl Siebenbürgens durch verschiedene Maßnahmen zu steigern. Während die Betreibung

In: Siebenbürgische Semesterblätter, Drittes Jahr, Heft 1, München, 1989, S. 30; Jinga Victor, *Probleme fundamentale ale Transilvaniei* [Die grundlegenden Probleme Siebenbürgens]. Braşov, 1995, (Ediția a II-a), S. 283; Edroiu Nicolae, *Populație și societate în Transilvania și Banat* [Die Bevölkerung und die Gesellschaft in Siebenbürgen und im Banat], in Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor. Românii între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711 - 1821)*. Bucureşti, 2002, Vol. 6, S. 93.

¹³ 1.443.371 Personen, die 289.306 Familien ausmachten, wohnten in dem Gebiet, das unter Zivilverwaltung stand. 134.144 Personen wohnten im Militärgrenzgebiet, vgl. Jinga Victor, (1995), S. 283; Josupeit - Neitzel Elke, *Die Reformen Josephs II. in Siebenbürgen*, in Georg Stadtmüller u.a. (Hg.), (= Studia Hungarica. Schriften des Ungarischen Instituts, München, Bd. 33), München 1986, S. 180 – 183; Andea Avram, *Transilvania. Habitat. Modul de trai* [Siebenbürgen. Die Siedlungen. Die Lebensart der Bevölkerung], in Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor. Românii între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711 - 1821)*, Bucureşti, 2002, Vol. 6, S. 138; Zum Vergleich: Im Jahr 1785 lebten in der gesamten Monarchie 24.324.570 Menschen, vgl. Vöclka Karl, *Glanz und Untergang der höfischen Welt. Repräsentation, Reform und Reaktion im Habsburgischen Vielvölkerstaat*, in Herwig Wolfram (Hg.), *Österreichische Geschichte 1699 – 1815*, Wien, 2001, 2004, S. 307.

¹⁴ Vgl. Andea Avram, (2002), S. 137.

¹⁵ Der durchschnittliche Bevölkerungszuwachs Siebenbürgens wurde vom Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zum Jahr 1786 auf 0,6 – 0,7 Prozent pro Jahr geschätzt, dann fiel er auf 0,4 Prozent zurück, vgl. Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczy Ambrus, (1990), S. 409.

¹⁶ Müller Konrad, (1961), S. 12 f. Fußnote 11; Auch Notizen des Staatsrates Borié aus dem Jahr 1766 beweisen die hohe Bevölkerungsdichte Siebenbürgens: „... in Siebenbürgen die population stärker ist, als solche von der Bearbeitung des Felds leben kann“, Vgl. Müller Konrad, (1961), S. 14, Fußnote 15.

¹⁷ Vgl. Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczy Ambrus, (1990), S. 409.

einer Kolonisations- und Einbürgerungspolitik direkt auch auf die Vermehrung der Einwohnerzahl zielte, beabsichtigte der Wiener Hof durch die Betreibung einer reglementierten Migrationspolitik die Einwohnerzahl des Fürstentums zumindest auf ihrem Stand zu halten. Auch manche Komponenten der Wohlfahrtspolitik, die in diesem Artikel außer Acht gelassen werden, dienten indirekt zur Steigerung der Anzahl der Einwohner Siebenbürgens. Der Wiener Hof versuchte zusätzlich auch den Personenverkehr über die Grenzen Siebenbürgens, der nicht zur Migration gehörte, zu reglementieren und zu kontrollieren.

1. Die Kolonisation

Die Haltung der Habsburger gegenüber der Kolonisierung Siebenbürgens änderte sich im Laufe der Zeit. In den Jahren 1602/1604, während der vorübergehenden Besetzung Siebenbürgens, beabsichtigte der Wiener Hof die Ansiedlung katholischer deutscher Kolonisten im Fürstentum.¹⁸ Im Einrichtungswerk Ungarns wird die Besiedlung der Gebiete Ungarns, die von den Osmanen befreit wurden, als sehr wichtig angesehen, ohne dass Siebenbürgen speziell erwähnt wird. Im Leopoldinischen Diplom ist von der Besiedlung des Fürstentums keine Rede. Die Ansiedlungspolitik der Habsburger in Siebenbürgen stieß im Vergleich zur Kolonisierung der erwähnten Gebiete Ungarns an machtpolitische Grenzen – die siebenbürgischen Stände wollten keine Kolonisation des Landes und schon gar nicht eine, die von den Habsburgern gelenkt wurde – und an die spezifischen Bevölkerungsstrukturen des Landes: Siebenbürgen war, wie schon erwähnt, dichter besiedelt als die anderen befreiten Gebiete Ungarns. Aus diesen Gründen kam es in Siebenbürgen zum Beispiel im Vergleich zum Banat zu nur relativ kleinen Kolonisationsaktionen. Es stellt sich die Frage: Welche Gebiete in Siebenbürgen konnten von den Habsburgern besiedelt werden? In den Territorien der drei Nationen, und insbesondere im Gebiet der Ungarn wäre eine Ansiedlungsaktion wegen der Opposition des Adels nur schwer vorstellbar gewesen. Selbst auf dem Königsboden opponierten die Sachsen bei jedem Kolonisationsversuch, auch wenn es sich um nur wenige Kolonisten handelte.¹⁹ Es

¹⁸ Auch an eine Ansiedlung der im Land stationierten Soldaten, inklusiv jener, die nicht Deutsche waren, wurde gedacht, vgl. Müller Georg, *Die Türkenherrschaft in Siebenbürgen. Verfassungsrechtliches Verhältnis Siebenbürgens zur Pforte 1541-1688*, in *Südosteuropäisches Forschungsinstitut*, Hermannstadt – Sibiu, 1923, S. 101 f. ; Arens Meinolf, *Habsburg und Siebenbürgen 1600 – 1605. Gewaltsame Eingliederungsversuche eines Ostmitteleuropäischen Fürstentums in einen Frühabsolutistischen Reichsverband*, in Paul Philippi u.a. (Hg.), (= *Studia Transylvanica*, Ergänzungsbände zum Siebenbürgischen Archiv, Bd. 27), Köln - Weimar – Wien, 2001, S. 101, 109 ff., 180 ff., 197 ff. und 221; Roth Harald, *Hermannstadt Kleine Geschichte einer Stadt in Siebenbürgen*. Köln - Weimar – Wien, 2006, S. 90.

¹⁹ Über die Opposition der ständischen Nationen und insbesondere der Sachsen bei der habsburgischen Kolonisation, vgl. Müller Konrad, (1961), S. 12 f. und 48; Schuller Georg Adolf, *Samuel von Brukenthal*, in Theodor Mayer (Hg.), (= Buchreihe der

blieben eigentlich nur die fürstlichen Domänen, in denen der Wiener Hof nicht auf die Opposition der Stände stieß, diese waren aber nicht so ausgedehnt. Letztendlich fanden die wichtigen Kolonisationsaktionen der Habsburger hauptsächlich auf dem Königsboden statt. In den fürstlichen Domänen wurden kleine Gruppen von Bergwerksarbeitern angesiedelt.

Die einzige wesentliche Kolonisationsaktion der Habsburger in Siebenbürgen war die Zwangsumsiedlung von Protestanten aus den österreichischen Ländern, eine Aktion, die eigentlich hauptsächlich aus religiösen Überlegungen durchgeführt wurde. Aus merkantilistischen und populationistischen Gründen wurden die Protestanten nicht mehr aus der Monarchie vertrieben, sondern im Fürstentum angesiedelt. Sie wurden in mehreren Etappen nach Siebenbürgen deportiert. Es geht um die karolinische Transmigration zwischen 1734 und 1737, in deren Rahmen insgesamt 804 Protestanten aus dem Salzkammergut (624 Personen) und Kärnten (180 Personen) nach Siebenbürgen kamen, und um die thesesianische Transmigration, die in zwei Etappen, 1752 – 1758 und 1773 – 1776 stattfand. Insgesamt deportierte Maria Theresia 3138 Protestanten nach Siebenbürgen. (2024 Personen aus dem Lande ob der Enns (Oberösterreich), 850 Personen aus Kärnten und 264 Personen aus der Steiermark) Die Protestanten wurden auf dem Sachsenboden angesiedelt. Die Zwangsumsiedlung von Protestanten nach Siebenbürgen, und insbesondere die thesesianische Transmigration, war wegen ihrer Richtlinien, die für eine Kolonisationspolitik nicht geeignet waren, und wegen der Opposition der Sachsen ein Misserfolg.²⁰ Im Sachsenland wurden in den 1760er Jahren auch protestantische preußische Kriegsgefangene und später auch Invalide und Deserteure angesiedelt. Hier ließen sich am Anfang der 70er Jahre auch relativ kleine Gruppen von Ansiedlern aus den südwestlichen Gebieten des Deutschen

Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission), München, 1967 (Bd. I.), S. 259 f.; Kutschera Rolf, *Landtag und Gubernium in Siebenbürgen 1688 – 1869*, in Paul Philippi (Hg.), (= *Studia Transylvanica*, Ergänzungsbände des Siebenbürgischen Archivs, Bd. 11), Köln – Wien, 1985, S. 234; Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, *Călătoria împăratului Josif al II - lea în Transilvania la 1773* [Die Reise Kaiser Josephs II. durch Siebenbürgen im Jahre 1773], Cluj - Napoca / Klausenburg, 2006, Vol. / Bd. I., S. 332 f.

²⁰ Über die Zwangsumsiedlung von Protestanten in Siebenbürgen, vgl. Nowotny Ernst, *Die Transmigration ober – und innerösterreichischer Protestanten nach Siebenbürgen im 18. Jahrhundert: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der „Ländler“*, in „Schriften des Instituts für Grenz – und Auslandsdeutschtum“ an der Universität Marburg, Bd. 8, Jena, 1931; Buchinger Erich, *Die „Ländler“ in Siebenbürgen. Vorgeschichte, Durchführung und Ergebnis einer Zwangsumsiedlung im 18. Jahrhundert*, in Ruprecht Steinacker u. a. (Hrsg.), *Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission*, Bd. 31, München, 1980; Knall Dieter, *Aus der Heimat gedrängt: letzte Zwangsumsiedlungen steierischer Protestanten nach Siebenbürgen unter Maria Theresia*, in „Forschungen zur geschichtlichen Landeskunde der Steiermark“, Bd. 45, Graz, 2002; Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 601 ff.

Reiches nieder.²¹ Um die Anzahl der Facharbeiter in Siebenbürgen zu vermehren, stimmte Maria Theresia in den 1770er Jahren auch der Kolonisierung protestantischer Handwerker aus dem Deutschen Reich zu.²² Der Wiener Hof versuchte auch in Siebenbürgen Bergleute anzusiedeln – ihnen wurden im Jahr 1770 Privilegien versprochen. Für die Versorgung der Eisenwerke von Hunedoara (Eisenmarkt) und Umgebung mit Holzkohle wurden im Gebirge Poiana Rusca Köhlerarbeiter aus der Walachei angesiedelt.²³

2. Die Einbürgerungspolitik

Die Habsburger betrieben auch eine Politik der Verleihung des Indigenats an Personen, die nicht Siebenbürger waren. Im Hintergrund dieser Politik standen in erster Linie machtpolitische und wirtschaftliche Interessen, gleichzeitig war sie aber auch eine Methode, mit der die Einwohnerzahl des Fürstentums vermehrt werden sollte. Es geht hauptsächlich um die Verleihung des Indigenats an habsburgische Beamte und Militärs, die in Siebenbürgen tätig waren, und an ausländische Händler. Manchmal übte der Wiener Hof auf den siebenbürgischen Landtag sogar Druck aus, um die Verleihung des siebenbürgischen Indigenats an diese Fremden zu erreichen.²⁴ Im Jahr 1777 wurden die sogenannten „Griechen“ Händler, die in Siebenbürgen tätig waren und wohnten, eingebürgert.²⁵

²¹ Aus der Umgebung von Straßburg, aus dem Schwarzwald, aus dem Hanauischen (Vgl. Gündisch Konrad, *Siebenbürgen und die Siebenbürger Sachsen*, in Wilfried Schlau (Hg.), (= Studienbuchreihe der Stiftung Ostdeutscher Kulturrat, Bd. 8), München, 1998, S. 119) und aus Württemberg und Durlach. (Vgl. Schuller Georg A., (1967), Bd. I., S. 259 f.); Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 602.

²² Vgl. Otruba Gustav, *Die Wirtschaftspolitik Maria Theresias*, in „Österreich - Reihe“, Bd. 192 / 194, Wien, 1963, S. 172 ff.

²³ Vgl. Müller Konrad, (1961), S. 24.

²⁴ Laut den Bestimmungen des Leopoldinischen Diploms durften die Habsburger die Verleihung des Indigenats vor dem Landtag nur vorschlagen und empfehlen. Vgl. Kutschera Rolf, (1985), S. 338; Nachdem der siebenbürgische Landtag nicht mehr einberufen wurde, verliehen die Habsburger als Landesfürsten das Indigenat an die Nicht – Siebenbürger selbst. Um den Schein einer Respektierung der Bestimmung im Leopoldinischen Diplom zu wahren, verlangte der Wiener Hof vom Huldigungslandtag des Jahres 1781 die Zustimmung zu allen Einbürgerungen, die nach 1761 ohne die Mitwirkung der Stände gemacht worden waren. Der Landtag stimmte ohne Widerstand zu. Vgl. Josupeit - Neitzel Elke, (1986), S. 77 ff.

²⁵ Vgl. Müller Konrad, (1961), S. 64 f.; Surdu B., *Situația social - economică a țărilor române în secolul al XVIII – lea. Situația social - economică a Transilvaniei până la răscola lui Horea* [Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage der rumänischen Länder im 18. Jahrhundert. Die soziale und wirtschaftliche Lage Siebenbürgens bis zum Bauernaufstand unter der Führung Horeas], in Oțetea A. u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria României* [Geschichte Rumäniens] București, 1964, Vol. 3, S. 417; Heppner Harald, *Österreich und die Donaufürstentümer 1774 - 1812. Ein Beitrag zur habsburgischen Südosteuropapolitik*, in „Zur Kunde

3. Die Reglementierung und Kontrolle der Migration und anderer Formen des Personenverkehrs über die Grenzen Siebenbürgens

Was die siebenbürgische Migration betrifft, muss man zwischen Emigration und Immigration unterscheiden. In der Haltung der Habsburger und der drei ständischen Nationen zur Problematik der Migration gab es sowohl Ähnlichkeiten als auch Unterschiede. Was die Ähnlichkeiten betrifft, betrachteten sowohl der Wiener Hof als auch die Stände die starke Emigration aus Siebenbürgen als einen Verlust für den Staat an Steuerzahlern und Arbeitskräften, an Rekruten für die Armee und nicht zuletzt für die Grundherren an Arbeitskräften und Abgabezahlern. Im Fall der Immigration nach Siebenbürgen gab es auf beiden Seiten unterschiedliche Positionen. Während der Wiener Hof in einem reglementierten Flüchtlingsstrom nach Siebenbürgen finanzielle, wirtschaftliche und populationistische Vorteile sah, betrachteten die Ungarn und Sachsen die Immigration aus der Walachei und Moldau als eine Bedrohung, die in ihren Territorien zu einer Änderung der ethnischen Verhältnisse zu Gunsten der Rumänen führen könnten. Das Problem der Migration in Siebenbürgen war aber nicht neu. Auch im autonomen Fürstentum waren die Herrscher mit diesem Problem konfrontiert worden. Die Habsburger ihrerseits versuchten den Strom der Migration zwischen der Monarchie und dem Fürstentum schon im Vertrag von Wien, 1686, zu reglementieren.²⁶ Nachdem Siebenbürgen eine habsburgische Provinz geworden war, stand dieses Problem beim Wiener Hof auf der Liste der Prioritäten.

Die Analyse der siebenbürgischen Migration²⁷ kann durch die Beantwortung

Südosteuropas“, II / 13, Graz, 1984, S. 20; Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczy Ambrus, (1990), S. 414; Edroiu Nicolae, (2002), S. 92.

²⁶ Vgl. Gooss Roderich, *Österreichische Staatsverträge. Fürstentum Siebenbürgen (1526 – 1690)*, in *Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs*, Bd. 9, Wien, 1911, S. 868 – 871.

²⁷ Zur siebenbürgischen Migration, vgl. Prodan David, *Instaurarea regimului austriac în Transilvania* [Der Beginn der habsburgischen Herrschaft in Siebenbürgen], in Oțetea A. u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria României*, București, 1964, Vol. 3, S. 244; Prodan David, *Regimul austriac în Transilvania. Lupta pentru ridicarea politică a românilor* [Die habsburgische Herrschaft in Siebenbürgen. Der Kampf um die politische Emanzipation der Rumänen], in Oțetea A. u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria României*, București, 1964, Vol. 3, S. 521; Göllner Carl, *Die Siebenbürgische Militärgrenze. Ein Beitrag zur Sozial - und Wirtschaftsgeschichte 1762 – 1851*, in Adam Wandruszka (Hg.), (= Buchreihe der Südostdeutschen Historischen Kommission, Bd. 28), München, 1974, S. 70 – 74; Kutschera Rolf, (1985), S. 241 f.; Josupeit – Neitzel Elke, (1986), S. 60 - 64; Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczy Ambrus, (1990), S. 409 ff.; Jinga Victor, (1995), S. 191, 283 f. und 353 f.; Roman Viorel, Hofbauer Hannes, *Transsilvanien – Siebenbürgen*, Wien - Alba Iulia, 1996, S. 85; Edroiu Nicolae, *Viața socio - economică a Transilvaniei* [Die Gesellschaft und die Wirtschaft Siebenbürgens], in Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor. Românii între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711 - 1821)*, București, 2002, Vol. 6, S. 249 ff.; Edroiu Nicolae, *Populație și economie în Transilvania* [Die Bevölkerung und die Wirtschaft Siebenbürgens], in Virgil Câdea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor O epocă de înnoiri în spirit*

folgender Fragen erfolgen: In welche geographischen Richtungen fand die siebenbürgische Emigration statt? Welche sozialen, beruflichen und ethnischen Gruppen beteiligten sich an der Emigration? Was waren die Gründe für die Emigration? Welches Ausmaß erreichte die Emigration? Aus welchen geographischen Richtungen kamen die Immigranten nach Siebenbürgen und wer beteiligte sich? Wie war das Verhältnis zwischen Emigration und Immigration? Gab es neben der Migration auch andere Formen des Personenverkehrs über die siebenbürgischen Grenzen? Mit welchen Maßnahmen versuchten die Habsburger die Migration zu kontrollieren und in manchen Fällen sogar zu verhindern?

Es gab sowohl eine Emigration innerhalb von Siebenbürgen von einem Gebiet zum anderen als auch eine Emigration über die Grenzen des Fürstentums. Während die Emigration innerhalb von Siebenbürgen in erster Linie zu einer Störung des Wirtschaftslebens, einer Instabilität aus finanzieller Sicht und zu Schwierigkeiten die Rationalisierung der Herrschaft betreffend führte, bedeutete die Emigration über die Grenzen des Fürstentums auch einen Verlust aus populationistischer Sicht. Gerade das musste verhindert werden. Die Emigration über die Grenzen des Fürstentums erfolgte hauptsächlich in Richtung Walachei und Moldau, teilweise auch nach Ungarn und südlich der Donau sogar ins Osmanische Reich. Die Rumänen flohen hauptsächlich in die Walachei und die Moldau, die Ungarn und Szekler nach Ungarn und in die Moldau, nach 1775 auch in die neue habsburgische Provinz Bukowina. Den Großteil der Flüchtlinge (Auswanderer) aus Siebenbürgen machten die leibeigenen Bauern aus, es flüchteten aber auch Grenzsoldaten und Soldaten der Linienregimente, die als Deserteure betrachtet wurden. Unter den Flüchtlingen befanden sich teilweise auch Orthodoxe, die der griechisch-katholischen Kirche nicht beitreten wollten. Ethnisch betrachtet bestand die Mehrheit der Flüchtlinge mit Ausnahme der Deserteure der Grenzregimente, die auch Szekler waren, und der Linienregimenter aus Rumänen. Für die Emigration gab es verschiedene Gründe. Bis zum Jahr 1711 trugen die Kriege und insbesondere die Unruhen und Aufstände wesentlich zur Emigration bei. In der Betrachtung der Gründe für die Emigration waren die Beteiligten – die Flüchtlinge und die Behörden, die das Phänomen verhindern mussten – unterschiedlicher Auffassung. Während die geflüchteten Bauern die Unterdrückung und grausame Behandlung von den Grundherren sowie den Hunger und die große Teuerung als Gründe für ihre Emigration angaben, führten die

european (1601 - 1711/1716), Vol. 5, București, 2003, S. 478 f.; Edroiu Nicolae, Negruți - Munteniu Ecaterina, *Circulația umană în spațiul românesc* [Die Bevölkerungsbewegung im rumänischen geographischen Raum], in Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor. Românii între Europa Clasică și Europa Luminilor (1711 – 1821)*, Vol. 6, București, 2002, S. 103 - 105; Rezachevici Constantin, Șerban Constantin, *Populația în Țara Românească și Moldova* [Die Bevölkerung in der Walachei und Moldau], in Virgil Căndea (Hg.), *Istoria Românilor O epocă de înnoiri în spirit european (1601 - 1711/1716)*, Vol. 5, București, 2003, S. 404; Pál-Antal Sándor, *Die Szekler unter den Völkern Siebenbürgens*, in Harald Roth (Hg.), *Siebenbürgisches Archiv. Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Dritte Folge, Bd. 40, Köln – Weimar – Wien, 2009, S. 8.

siebenbürgischen Behörden die Hungersnöte, die Leichtsinnigkeit des walachischen Volkes und die „Liederlichkeit der Individuen“²⁸ als Gründe für die hohe Emigration an. Kaiser Joseph II. auf seiner Reise durch Siebenbürgen und ebenso verschiedene habsburgische hohe Beamte sahen die Ausbeutung der untertänigen Bauern von den Grundherren als Hauptgrund der Emigration.²⁹ Manche Historiker betrachten auch die hohe Steuerlast unter der habsburgischen Herrschaft als einen wichtigen Grund für die Emigration.³⁰ Wie schon erwähnt, gab es aber auch eine Emigration aus religiösen und militärischen Gründen sowie eine Emigration, die durch die Tätigkeit von Werbern aus der Walachei und Moldau in Siebenbürgen verursacht wurde.³¹

Die Emigration, aber auch die Flucht innerhalb des Landes, nahm schon am Anfang der habsburgischen Herrschaft zu.³² Eine Antwort auf die Frage des Ausmaßes der siebenbürgischen Emigration könnte auch der Bericht der Hofkammer an den Kaiser im Jahr 1776 liefern, der darüber informiert, dass „wenig diesseitige Wallachen seyn, welche in ihrem Leben wenigstens nicht einmal in die Moldau oder Wallachey hinübergehen“.³³ Auch Kaiser Joseph II. auf seiner Reise durch Siebenbürgen im Jahr 1773³⁴ und die Leiter des siebenbürgischen Thesaurariats, die Grafen Auersperg und Clary, machten auf das Phänomen der Emigration aufmerksam, das Siebenbürgen zu entvölkern drohte.³⁵ Selbst die Bezeichnung des Phänomens der siebenbürgischen Emigration in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts von einem Teil der historischen Forschung als „*morbus transylvanicus*“³⁶ gibt ein Bild von seinem Ausmaß. Was die Daten anbelangt, sprach man in den Jahren 1767 und 1785 von ca. 24.000 siebenbürgischen Familien, was etwa 96.000 Personen ausmachte, die sich in der Walachei und in der Moldau befanden. Die historische Forschung schätzt, dass die Flüchtlinge aus Siebenbürgen zwischen 1740 und 1832 allein in der Walachei ca. 85 Orte gründeten.³⁷ Ein Teil der siebenbürgischen Flüchtlinge kehrte nach einer bestimmten Zeit aber wieder zurück ins Fürstentum. Joseph II. berichtete im Jahr 1773 über einige Gruppen siebenbürgischer Flüchtlinge, die sich in der Grenzstation auf ihrer Rückreise befanden.³⁸

²⁸ Josupeit-Neitzel Elke, (1986), S. 62; Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 739.

²⁹ Vgl. Prodan David, *Transilvania sub regimul absolutismului luminat* [Siebenbürgen in der Zeit der absolutistisch aufgeklärten Herrschaft], in Oțetea A. u.a. (Hg.), *Istoria României*, București, 1964, Vol. 3, S. 737 ff.; Edroiu Nicolae, (2002), S. 250 ff.; Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 524-713 und 739.

³⁰ Vgl. Várkonyi R. Ágnes, (1990), S. 380.

³¹ Vgl. Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 739.

³² Laut der Steuerkonskription aus den Jahren 1689/90 waren 33 Prozent der Bauernhufe in Siebenbürgen unbewohnt, vgl. Várkonyi R. Ágnes, (1990), S. 380.

³³ Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczy Ambrus, (1990), S. 410.

³⁴ Vgl. Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 739.

³⁵ Vgl. Jinga Victor, (1995), S. 353.

³⁶ Trócsányi Zsolt, Miskolczy Ambrus, (1990), S. 409.

³⁷ Vgl. Edroiu Nicolae, Negruți – Munteanu Ecaterina (2002), S. 105.

³⁸ Vgl. Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 631 f., 664 f. und 739.

Die siebenbürgische Migration bestand auch aus einer Immigration. Nach Siebenbürgen immigrierten vorwiegend Rumänen aus der Walachei und der Moldau. Wie schon der siebenbürgische Kommandierende General Preiß im Jahr 1782 bemerkte, blieb die Immigration aus den zwei Fürstentümern nach Siebenbürgen aber stark hinter der Emigration. Diese Feststellung wird auch durch eine Beschreibung von Siebenbürgen konfirmiert: „Wir sehen leyder alle Jahre eine beträchtliche Anzahl siebenbürgischer Walachen in die Walachei und Moldau emigrieren, wir sehen aber selten, daß viele von denen jenseitigen Walachen nach Siebenbürgen wandern.“³⁹

Neben den zwei Formen der Migration, Emigration und Immigration, fanden an den Grenzen Siebenbürgens zu anderen Provinzen der Monarchie, Ungarn, Banat nach 1716 und Bukowina nach 1775, und insbesondere an den Grenzen zu den Fürstentümern Walachei und Moldau auch andere Formen des Personenverkehrs statt. So wanderten siebenbürgische Hirten mit ihren Herden aus wirtschaftlichen Gründen in die Donaufürstentümer, ins Banat und sogar in das Osmanische Reich. Ebenso überquerten siebenbürgische und fremde Händler sowie Wanderarbeiter aus der Walachei die Grenzen.⁴⁰ Die Grenze wurde auch von walachischen und moldauischen Bojaren passiert, die aus politischen Gründen nach Siebenbürgen flüchteten⁴¹, und ebenso von Deserteuren der habsburgischen Armee und der siebenbürgischen Grenzregimente, die in die Walachei und nach Moldau flüchteten.⁴² Aus religiösen Gründen gingen siebenbürgische Untertanen mit orthodoxem Glauben in die Walachei und nach Moldau, und umgekehrt. Es gab auch Verwandtschaftsverbindungen zwischen siebenbürgischen Rumänen und jenen in den zwei Fürstentümern. Auch Schmuggler und Räuberbanden übergingen die siebenbürgische Grenze in beide Richtungen auf Schleichwegen.⁴³

Die Habsburger unternahmen verschiedene Maßnahmen, um die siebenbürgische Migration und andere Formen des Personenverkehrs an der Grenze des Fürstentums zu kontrollieren. Eine davon war die Errichtung einer Militärgrenze, die unter anderem auch Aufgaben in diesem Bereich hatte: Die Emigration und illegale Immigration musste so weit wie möglich beschränkt und die Schmuggler und Räuberbanden bekämpft werden. Weil die Grenzer die Erwartungen in diese Richtung manchmal nicht erfüllen konnten oder gar nicht wollten, befahl der Wiener Hof im

³⁹ Göllner Carl, (1974), S. 73.

⁴⁰ Wie zum Beispiel die Kohlarbeiter aus der Walachei, die im siebenbürgischen Bergwesen arbeiteten, vgl. Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 393 und 584.

⁴¹ Joseph II. traf im Jahr 1773 auf seiner Reise durch Siebenbürgen mit geflüchteten walachischen Bojaren zusammen, die im Fürstentum teilweise Asylrecht bekommen hatten. Vgl. Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 584 f. und 627 ff.

⁴² Vgl. Bozac Ileana, Pavel Teodor, (2006), S. 611, 632, 650 und 664 f. und 703.

⁴³ Über die Räuberbanden, die aus Banat und aus der Walachei nach Siebenbürgen kamen, vgl. auch Ferber Johann Jacob (Hg.), *Born Ignatz v., Briefe über mineralogische Gegenstände, auf seiner Reise durch das Temeswarer Bannat, Siebenbürgen, Ober- und Niederungarn*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, 1774, S. 94; Havadi-Nagy Kinga Xénia, *Die Slawonische und Banater Militärgrenze. Kriegserfahrungen und räumliche Mobilität*, Cluj - Napoca (Klausenburg), 2010, S. 223.

Jahr 1768 die zusätzliche Sicherung eines Abschnittes der südlichen Grenze des Fürstentums in Form der Patrouillierung durch Reiter der Linienregimente. Gegenüber desertierenden Grenzsoldaten wurden drastische Maßnahmen, für die Mitglieder ihrer Familien und die Dorfrichter sogar Kollektivstrafen angeordnet. Es wurden auch polizeiähnliche Methoden verwendet: Am Anfang der 1780er Jahre bekam der Grenzhauptmann Bedeus von Scharberg den Befehl, die desertierten Grenzsoldaten und deren Familienmitglieder in Moldau aufzuspüren, sie festzunehmen und nach Siebenbürgen zu repatriieren. Die Aktion scheiterte aber am Widerstand des Fürsten von Moldau. Bei der Kontrolle und Reglementierung der Migration und anderer Formen des Personenverkehrs über die Grenzen Siebenbürgens begann auch die Zensur eine Rolle zu spielen: Der Briefwechsel zwischen den Siebenbürgern und der Bevölkerung in den Donaufürstentümern musste streng kontrolliert werden.⁴⁴ Letztendlich verstärkten die Habsburger die Kontrolle über die siebenbürgischen Untertanen im Jahr 1782 auch durch die Errichtung von Konsulaten in der Walachei und in Moldau.⁴⁵ Zu ihrem Aufgabenbereich gehörte, neben dem Schutz der siebenbürgischen Untertanen, die sich in den beiden Fürstentümern befanden, auch ihre diskrete Überwachung, seien sie Emigranten, Händler und Handwerker, Wanderhirten, Deserteure oder religiöse Anstifter.

Schlussfolgerungen

Die Zahl der Einwohner Siebenbürgens stieg im Zeitraum, der in diesem Artikel analysiert wurde. Die Gründe sind aber nicht die Maßnahmen der Habsburger, die oben betrachtet wurden; die Einwohnerzahl des Fürstentums stieg hauptsächlich aus natürlichen Gründen. Die Kolonisation, die in der ungarischen Tiefebene und im Banat eine so wichtige Rolle spielte, trug in Siebenbürgen nicht wesentlich zum Wachstum der Bevölkerung des Fürstentums bei. Die Politik des Wiener Hofes, fremde Elemente in Siebenbürgen einzubürgern, hatte ebenfalls nur wenig Einfluss auf die Zunahme der Bevölkerung des Fürstentums. Auch die Maßnahmen der Reglementierung und Kontrolle der Migration seitens der Habsburger zeigten nicht die erwünschten Erfolge. Die Emigration der Einwohner Siebenbürgen in die Walachei und Moldau, die für das Land einen Verlust an Bevölkerung bedeutete, konnte nicht wirksam unterbunden werden.

⁴⁴ Vgl. Göllner Carl, (1974), S. 72.

⁴⁵ Vgl. Heppner Harald, (1984), S. 23 – 52.

CZERNOWITZ: THE JERUSALEM OF BUKOVINA

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Rezumat: *Articolul analizează rolului evreilor în istoria și evoluția orașului Cernăuți, devenit prin ponderea, contribuția și atmosfera mozaică un veritabil "Ierusalim al Bucovinei". Evreii au reprezentat majoritatea locuitorilor municipiului Cernăuți, un spațiu renumit prin înțelegerea și coabitarea grupărilor etnice, specifică Europei Centrale. În Cernăuți s-au format și afirmat Paul Celan (Paul Antschel), Moses Barasch, Jacob Eisenscher, Arthur Kolnik, Șlomo Lerner, Itic Manger, Eliezer Steinbarg, Moses Rosenkrantz, Eric Singer, Rose Ausländer, Victor Wittner, Isac Schneyer, Clara Bloom, Alfred Kitner, Immanuel Weissglass, Alfred Gong, Alfred Margul Sperber ș.a. În 1908 în Cernăuți a avut loc primul Congres Mondial consacrat idișului. Această atmosferă a fost puternic viciată în perioada interbelică de manifestarea puternică a naționalismului și antisemitismului.*

Abstract: *Cernăuți, known as Czernowitz in Yiddish, gathered together important personalities in order to debate on the issue of the status of Yiddish. The power and the contribution of the Jews of Bukovina to the culture and spirituality of Bukovina – beyond the economic references, such as commerce, finances and banks – were really impressive, as a proof being the personalities asserted within the Bukovina area including at the top: Paul Celan (Paul Antschel) Moses Barasch, Jacob Eisenscher, Arthur Kolnik, Slomo Lerner, Itic Manger, Eliezer Steinbarg, Moses Rosenkrantz, Eric Singer, Rose Ausländer, Victor Wittner, Isac Schneyer, Clara Bloom, Alfred Kitner, Immanuel Weissglass, Alfred Gong, Alfred Margul Sperber. The atmosphere was highly flawed in the interwar period of strong manifestation of nationalism and anti-Semitism.*

Résumé : *Notre bref article veut offrir aux lecteurs quelques dates essentielles concernant le climat culturel et institutionnel qui a permis l'apparition en Bucovine d'une pléiade d' intellectuels juifs valeureux, dont: Paul Celan (Paul Antschel) Moses Barasch, Jacob Eisenscher, Arthur Kolnik, Slomo Lerner, Itic Manger, Eliezer Steinbarg, Moses Rosenkrantz, Eric Singer, Rose Ausländer, Victor Wittner, Isac Schneyer, Clara Bloom, Alfred Kitner, Immanuel Weissglass, Alfred Gong, Alfred Margul Sperber, pour ne nommer que quelques uns. Dans la lutte entre une élite assimilée et pro assimilation et une masse de Juifs orthodoxes, réfractaires au renouveau, le monde petit-bourgeois de l'yiddish de Bucovine, longtemps un circuit plébéen et subversif, marginalisé par la bourgeoisie pro assimilation, prend sa revanche, en consolidant son statut surtout après que Tchernovtsy ait hébergé en 1908 la conférence mondiale sur la langue et la littérature Yiddish. L'atmosphère était très imparfaite dans la période entre les deux guerres de la manifestation forte du nationalisme et de l'antisémitisme.*

Keywords: *Bukovina, Jews, Czernowitz, antisemitism, Greater Romania.*

The Cernăuți mosaic community played an important part in modernizing the Bukovinian space, unique in its destiny, ethnic and social status, including the successful compromise of the different ethnic communities known as *Aussgleich* (compromise, agreement)¹.

The paternity of this profitable, intelligent and beneficial compromise of the ethnic communities of Bukovina is to be found in the ideas of Benno Straucher, leader of the Jewish community of Cernăuți, Koko Wasilko, representative of the Ukrainian community, but being of obvious Romanian origin and Aurel Onciul a visionary spirit with definite political abilities and European beliefs *avant la lettre*. The Habsburg accepted an agreement among the three different ethnic groups of Bukovina: the Romanians (represented by Aurel Onciul and Alexandru Hurmuzachi), the Ukrainians (Nicolai von Wassilko) and the Jewish (Straucher himself).

These leaders later negotiated with baron Oktavian von Bleyleben, governor of Bukovina. The agreement stipulated a large electoral reform which guaranteed a fairly proportional representation of the ethnic groups of Bukovina in the local Dieta but, despite the efforts of fighting the anti-Semitism, the Jewish community was not given special recognition (except for a few distinct electoral precincts, they were included in the same groups with the Germans.)²

The famous and most envied „Aussgleich”, designed by the Austrian-Hungarian authorities for the entire monarchy did not prove to be fully functional except for Bukovina; the geographical layout, the intelligence and pragmatism of the Habsburg authorities, the tolerance and peaceful living of the ethnic communities made this compromise possible. However, after 1918, the new authorities gave up the *Aussgleich* in an abrupt and unreasonable way. The institutional efforts could not erase or cancel an experience created voluntarily among ethnic and confessional groups such as those from the historic Bukovina. The evolution of the market town of Cernăuți, on the banks of Prut river towards the recognized and appreciated large city of nowadays³ - from the tempestuous XXI century - occupying the third place among the largest cities of Great Romania (after Bucharest and Chisinau) has been extremely long and complex⁴. Its beginnings are well placed in history and have been researched

¹ Nick Pelling, *Imperiul Habsburgic 1815–1918* [The Habsburg Empire 1815–1918], Bucharest, Bic All Publishing House, 2002, p.101.

² Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, *Chestiunea rezolvării disputelor naționale într-o zonă multietnică la sfârșitul primului deceniu al secolului XX. Cazul Bucovinei* [The matter of solving national disputes in a multicultural area at the end of the first decade of the XXth century. The case of Bukovina], in Cătălin Turliuc, Mihai Ștefan –Ceașu, *Dilemele conviețuirii în procesul modernizării societății românești în spațiul est-carpatic (secolele XX-XX)* [The dilemmas of living together in the process of modernization of the Romanian society in the eastern Carpathian space], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2011, p. 109.

³ Andrei Corbea, *Paul Celan și „meridianul său”. Repere vechi și noi pe un atlas central-european*, [Paul Celan and “his meridian”. Old and new landmarks in a Central european atlas], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 1998, *passim*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

by the famous Austrian Historian Raimund Friedrich Kaindl and the Benedictine-like patient Romanian Teodor Bălan who used the arguments and instruments of science to uncover and turn to account archaeology discoveries, texts and documents of remarkable value.

In pragmatic, scientifically focused and most of all, interpreted, capitalized and developed, these pieces of information reflect – judging by the conclusions of the scientific texts of Alexandru Bocănețu, Dragoș Vitencu, Radu Grigorovici, Harald Hepner, David Scharry, Andrei Corbea Hoișie, Peter Rychlo, etc. – the age and importance in time of the large city⁵ by the Prut river⁶. As the topic of our research is the Jewish community of Bukovina, we will no longer wander through the history of the city of Cernăuți. Mention must be made of the age of Cernăuți and the disagreements about it- some with no reliable source, others of minimum substance- called out by the Ukrainian and Soviet historians in a certain period of time and out of obvious reasons. Cernăuți is mentioned in a favour given to the Lvov traders on October 8th 1408 by the Moldavian prince Alexandru cel Bun. There is no doubt that the city is even older than that; however, its entrance into the great book of history is conventionally the document written in Alexandru cel Bun⁷, times, more than 600 years ago⁸.

There is one street in Cernăuți that discretely reminds us of the beginnings of this city that has nowadays become an architectural, cultural, demographic, spiritual, confessional, economic, social milestone for the central European culture and civilization⁹. The city includes important outskirts areas, former villages such as: Clocucica to the north- west, Mănăstiriște to the south, The Public Garden to the south east, Horecea to the east and Caliceanca to the north east. Cernăuți has become famous today under the name Czernowitz¹⁰, (its Yiddish name) due to the contribution of the force and spirit of the Bukovina Jewish population, including German culture integrated Jewish and Yiddish speakers¹¹. The beginnings of the mosaic community in Cernăuți are closely connected to the settlement and

⁵ Harieta Mareci-Sabol, *Orașul Cernăuți în descrierile călătorilor străini în secolele XVI–XVII* [Chernivtsi in the description of the foreign travellers in the 16-17th centuries], in „Anuarul Institutului de Istorie [Yearbook of the Institute of History] «G. Barițiu» from Cluj-Napoca”, tom XLIX, 2010, p. 338–344.

⁶ Wlad Bănățeanu, Etel Knittel, *Ghidul municipiului Cernăuți* [A guide to the city of Chernivtsi], Chernivtsi, 2007, p. 9.

⁷ Em. Grigorovitz, *Dicționarul geografic al Bucovinei* [Bukovina's geographical dictionary], Bucharest, Socec Publishing House, 1908, p. 59.

⁸ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Provocările vecinătății: ucrainenii bucovineni în Regatul României Mari (1918–1940). Contribuții* [Challenges of neighbourhood: the Ukrainians of Bukovina in the Romanian Kingdom (1918–1940)], Iași, Tipo Moldova Publishing House, 2010, p. 81.

⁹ Norman Davies, Roger Moorhouse, *Microcosmos. Portrait of a Central European City*, London, Pimlico, 2003, p. 228.

¹⁰ Dragoș Vitencu, *Cernăuțiul meu* [My Chernivtsi], edited by Aura Brădășan, Accent Print Publishing House, Suceava, 2008, p. 35.

¹¹ See also Nataly Shevchenko, Helmut Kusdat, *Inhalt*, în *Das Jüdische Album*, Verlag für Photographie, Wien, 2009, p. 7.

development of the Habsburg administration, and the modernization of Bukovina's metropolis is greatly due to the efforts of the Jewish people from here¹². In 1762 Cernăuți had approximately two hundred large wooden houses as well as some highly appreciated inns¹³. In order to develop the region - as Alexandru Bocănețu mentions - Jewish colonists from Galicia were brought with the promise of free land on which they could build houses and shops¹⁴. In 1766, Cernăuți and the City Council offered a place for a house near the Fountain Square to a Jewish called Israel¹⁵. In 1782, only Laila, Israel's widow was still alive.

In 1773, another Jew, David Israel, obtained a place to build a house upon. In 1762 there is mention of Șmul Israil, owner of a place near the old Synagogue¹⁶. Șmul Israil took his nickname from the Varhaus, and David Israel changed his name into the German Zürcher¹⁷. Because of the wars, the price of lands in Cernăuți had gone down very much: The Romanian Simion Umblătorul sold his house to a Jewish for 200 florins and in 1762 a different Romanian, Ioniță Miteșcu, sold his house for 30 Turkish florins to Abraham Moses, a Jew coming from Herța¹⁸.

In 1782 count Loghoteti sold his house and land for no more than 70 florins to the Jewish Wolf Hildenbrand. In 1782 count Șmul Ițic had bought with 38 florins a house in Cernăuți from Paraschiva Dăscălița¹⁹. Based on the *Pitzelli* Protocol, the Jewish could buy houses and land right in the centre of Cernăuți. The Austrian historian Johann Polek mentions the fact that in 1775 in Cernăuți there lived 112 Jewish families, while in Vijnița there were 60 families. The Austrian general Gabriel Spleny von Mihaldy wrote: „Cernăuți is a quite populated town. The best houses belong to the Jews, and in the entire district there is only one small town”²⁰.

Emperor Franz Josef de Habsburg himself expressed –in 1817 – his admiration for the so called „Judenstadt”²¹, meaning Cernăuți where the Jews played an important part in modernizing and economy. Such imperial acknowledgement was complimentary and a proof of the later developments of Judaism in Cernăuți.

¹² Mihai Iacobescu, *Din istoria Bucovinei* vol. I (1774–1862). *De la administrația militară la autonomia provincială* [Bukovina's History vol. I (1774–1862). From military administration to province autonomy], Bucharest, Romanian Academy Publishing House, 1993, pp. 167–169.

¹³ Alexandru Bocănețu, *Istoria orașului Cernăuți pe timpul Moldovei* [History of Chernivtsi in Moldova times], „Codrul Cosminului. Buletinul Institutului de Istorie și Limbă” [Codrul Cosminului. Bulletin of the Institute of History and Language], Chernivtsi, 1930, p. 130.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Apud Ion Cocuz, *Partidele politice românești din Bucovina 1862– 1914* [Political Parties in Bukovina 1862– 1914], Suceava, 2003, p. 42.

²¹ Jacques Attali, *Evreii, lumea și banii. Istoria economică a poporului evreu* [The Jewish, the world and the money. The historical economy of the Jewish people], Bucharest, Univers Publishing House, 2011, p. 335.

The first two storey house was built in Cernăuți by the Jewish Karl Nadler, in 1828²². The Jewish people knew about the importance of the Enlightenment movement of *Haskala*²³ supported by Herman Juster and Salomon Brunstein, leaders of *Haskala* and the first Jewish citizens²⁴. The Jewish of Cernăuți also wrote for „Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums” „Wiener Blätter” or „Jahrbuch für Israeliten” where there were published among others the letters of Julius Barasch, David Schwarzfeld, etc.²⁵. In 1876 Avram Goldfaden created in Cernăuți the newspaper called „Dos Bukowiner Israelitische Volksblat” which was printed in Yiddish, with a small number of readers²⁶.

In Cernăuți, the Jewish people had a house for praying with the permission of the prince of Moldavia, but the building was ruined during the war and in 1775 the north west of Moldavia was taken under the administration of the Habsburgs and a different evolution in what the Jewish were concerned²⁷. Due to this transformation, Bukovina has become for the public opinion a “Switzerland of the Eastern Europe” and its capital city, Cernăuți, was named “Little Vienna”; lately it has been also called “Europe’s last Alexandria” because of an inspired phrase released by the Polish poet Zbigniew Herbert in 1987²⁸. A capital city of culture, civilization, inter ethnical and multi-confessional agreement, Cernăuți became a model appreciated and well known in the entire Habsburg Empire and later on, in the Great Romania, right after București and Chișinău. In time, the outskirts of Cernăuți such as Roșă, Mănăstiriște, Clocucica, Caliceanca developed and became administratively separate²⁹. Economically speaking, Cernăuți was seen as an important centre. The sugar factories of Lujeni, Schitul Nistrului and Jucica fathered working people from the neighbouring towns. The industry developed well under Austrian administration and there were several (two in Sadagura, and one in Boian, Cosmin, Davidești, Jucica-Veche, Vaslăuți and Zastavna), 17 alcohol factories, 4 alcohol factories (three in Jucica-Veche and one in Rohozna), three sugar factories (Lujeni, Jucica-Veche and Cristeaceac), a condensed milk unit (Jucica-Veche), butter and cheese (Rohozna), oil (Jucica-Veche și Lențești de Jos), fish (Cozmeni), an oil refinery (Rohozna), eterical oil (Lențești de Jos), carbonic acid (Lujeni), paint (Jucica-Veche), iron (Lențești de Jos), nails and wires (Lențești de Jos), tin and metal (Lențești de Jos), locks (Jucica-Veche), sand pits in Ocna, Mitcău and Cernăuți, quartz in Mitcău, plaster in Zviniace

²² Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²³ Jean Cristophe Attias, Esther Benbassa, *Israelul imaginar*, [Imaginary Israel], Bucharest, Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, 2004, p. 153.

²⁴ Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Mariana Hausleitner, *Rolul intelectualilor evrei în Europa Est-Centrală pornind de la cazul Bucovinei* [The role of the Jewish intelectual in Eastern and Central Europe, starting with the case of Bukovina], în SAHIR [Studia et Acta Historiae Judaeorum Romaniae], IX, 2005, p. 266.

²⁷ Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

²⁸ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Provocările vecinătății...*, p. 81.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

and Prelipcea, a clothing factory (Jucica-Veche), a socks one (Jucica-Veche), four timber factories (two in Lențești de Jos) and one in Jucica Veche and Nepocălăuți, a box factory (Lujeni), plaster (Cristeaceac și Zviniace), carton (Lențești de Jos), bricks factories (Jucica Veche and Ocna)³⁰. Lots of these had been the initiative of Jewish businessmen. There were many cultural institutions, societies and associations run by Romanians, Ukrainians, German, Polish, Jewish, Czech etc.³¹ The population of Cernăuți evolved rapidly due the continuous economic, social and cultural development. Statistics show the following evolution³²:

1775	2.280 people
1779	3.200
1794	5.063
1805	6.000
1836	14.800
1843	16.584
1851	20.467
1857	26.345
1869	33.884
1880	45.600
1900	67.622
1910	86.128
1930	111.147

Taking into account the population by nationality³³:

Year	1857	1880	1900	1910
Romanian	4.800	6.431	9.400	13.440
Ruthenian	3.500	8.232	13.030	15.253
Jewish	4.678	11.449	21.587	28.613
German	7.612	11.271	12.854	12.747
Polish	810	6.707	8.601	14.893
Other	188	510	295	1.182

Well known, appreciated and recognized as a « Mendelssohn of Romania », the author of “Itinerar în Cracovia, Galiția, Bucovina, Moldova și Muntenia, în 1841-1842³⁴”, Iuliu Barasch, describes a journey in Bukovina as follows:

³⁰ *Enciclopedia României* [Enciclopedia of Romania], vol. II, 1938, p. 129.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

³² Constantin Loghin, *Cernăuții* [Chernivtsi], „Mitropolitul Silvestru” Publishing House, 1936, p. 39.

³³ *Ibid.*; *Izvoare statistice privind mutațiile demografice la est de Carpați în secolele XX-XX* [Statistical sources of demographic mutations at the east of Carpathians in the XX th century], edited by Cătălin Turliuc, Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, Dumitru Vitcu, Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2011, p. 166–171.

³⁴ Harry Kuller, *Filozofie. Sociologie. Psihologie. Economie politică* [Philosophy, Sociology, Psychology. Political economy], în vol. *Contribuția evreilor din România la cultură și*

„Bukovina is a beautiful fertile country, with little population.

The Jewish people only live in a few towns. The most important are, as we see, Sadagura and Cernăuți, two neighbouring towns. Sadagura has got a large Israelite community. The character, clothes and lifestyle of the Jews in this town is similar to Galicia and there is nothing else to be added; the only thing is Sadagura became more remarkable since reb Isrulke settled there after being banned from Russia. His particularly ostentatious style, more of a prince than a rabbi, his court and numerous servants blindly obeying his orders lead to the most unfortunate outcome which we will not mention here as it would take too much time. We can only hope that things are going to change once he moves to the Austrian territory. As it happens, the choice of this town was actually a lucky one.

The cattle traders most of them from neighbouring Bessarabia were to come and express their gratitude for the good deals they obtained at the markets. The town also gained a great deal, as the population passing by it grew and generated bigger input of food products and a larger amount of money being exchanged. Above all, alcohol sales grew as a symbol of the spiritual drink of the Chasidic crowds; it made life easier for the inn owners in Sadagura, grew the income of the land owners, of the alcohol producers and sellers in the area. (The alcohol input closely connected to the tadic parties made local land owners do whatever they could to draw tadic to settle on their land, the same as they did to draw a garrison. More than that, they protected him and his Chasidics and promised to defend them on any occasion.

This is how Chasidism succeeded in securing its existence). Half an hour away from Sadagura there stands Cernăuți, capital city of Bukovina. Its romantic settlement at the foot of a mountain, on the banks of Prut River, its beautiful buildings, the city plan and the lack of a main street reminds us of its Turkish origin. Its inhabitants consist mostly of Moldavians, clerks and Jewish. Cernăuți also has an important Israelite community. The real Cernăuți inhabitants, of Bukovina origin, are not numerous; on the contrary, lots of them immigrated to Galicia a long time ago, and since a few years ago they have not been allowed to move back to Bukovina, with some exceptions. Until a few years ago the Jewish people of Cernăuți and all Bukovina were exempt of the kosher meat tax as they are now of the candle tax. (The economic status of the Jewish people in Bukovina is quite prosperous. There are lots of wealthy families that gained their fortune not only by commerce but also by doing different trades such as tailoring; many of them bought beautiful houses. Tailors are an important part of the Cernăuți community).

The clothing of the Cernăuți Jewish has been inspired by that of Moldova and Muntenia. In the eastern part of Bukovina, many still wear Moldavian outfits. Yet, the way young people are dressed in Cernăuți is much more pleasant than in Galicia. Instead of wearing the spodic every day and the streimel on Saturdays, people wear here a samur hat; the short trousers have been replaced with modern pants etc. Women do not wear the frontlet during workdays; instead, they save this precious yet

unuseful piece for holidays. Actually, the frontlet has a funnier look here than in Galicia where women wear it every day and spend all their money just to have one in their chest. During work days women wear a scarf around their heads in a very common way, the same as the Jewish in Moldavia. Many young women of the richest families in Cernăuți wear a European bonnet, but there two categories here. Some wear it every day, others save it for Saturdays and holidays and wear a scarf for the rest of the days; this is the reason why they have been called „Şabes-datşerkes” (Saturday German girls).

The same goes for many young people who behave in a German: some wear on Saturdays the gheroc and the caftan hat and even the ştramel. On this category there are many craftsmen, including tailors. With some exceptions the educational degree is not very high in Cernăuți. Deep Talmudists, Iliem, are rare. Besides their marketing abilities, the general knowledge of a Cernăuți inhabitant does not include more than the usual prayers, the Hebrew writing and a German signature on a document. This ignorance can be explained by the fact that children are initiated in trading since early childhood. Once a 12 or 13 year-old boy has worked hard in a cheder for 6 or 7 years he can say goodbye to acquiring any further knowledge; his father is teaching him about his business, lets him work beside him for a while, then gets a small amount of money to speculate on his own. The boy then needs to earn some capital by himself until his wedding day when, his father doubles or triples what he had made on his own (nadan). An interesting fact is that Bukovina Jewish people are acting with more responsibility in these matters.

The Bukovinian bride groom may not be able to do a peştel but he can provide for his family the next day after the wedding unlike his Galician Baal-beessel who has no perspective and nowhere to go after retirement (Kost). However this early adulthood of Jewish children will soon vanish and a more beautiful age is about to start, as the Cernăuți people and their infinite spirit are going to overtake the wise men of Galicia. Due to their own initiative and the help of some kind men involved themselves in the intellectual Judaism movement they have recently founded an Israelite public school. We can well assume that an establishment of this sort leaves room for improvement both in its design and applicability but because it started as a good cause, we are sure of its right development in the future. It is up to the school's founders to seek help at the managers of some well-organized schools abroad in order to make the necessary changes... Before finishing this chapter, I am glad to give my readers some good news about Cernăuți. In Cernăuți there is now a noble Christian architect who took pity of some orphan Jewish children and is teaching them architecture with no charge. Some people I can trust have told me that these children are on the right track.

This distinguished man, whose name has unfortunately slipped my mind deserves to be mentioned right here as a fortunate symbol of times to come. I am certain that most of us will treasure his memory. There is more good news concerning the statistics this time. In Bukovina there are 55 Israelite families who whose income depends exclusively on agriculture. They are not grouped in one place but live in different villages, among other peasants. Some of these families are descendants of

*the Jewish ploughmen who lived in the Emperor Josef the Second's times and were encouraged by him to practice agriculture. They enjoy up to the present days many privileges; blessing and prosperity characterize their work*³⁵.

Iuliu Barasch ironically and excessively critic about his own people made the remark that the richest Jewish of Cernăuți lived on the mountain side and had beautiful houses in the main street. Poorer Jewish lived in the valley called by Barasch «The vale of tears» (Yoshvey be'emek habacha)³⁶. Barasch also mentions the good deed of a Christian who taught six Jewish orphans lessons of architecture. He left Bukovina heading for Moldova quite content of the situation of the Jewish people here writing "Let our believers in Galicia pick up their hearts and take this beautiful and fruitful example"³⁷. In 1861, when the Bukovina Diet was formed, one of the two deputies in College II, representing the Chamber of Industry and Commerce had to be Jewish.

The fact that a Jewish doctor was chosen for the first time in 1863 meant in the German historian Rudolf Wagner that „discrimination towards the Jewish population has ended”³⁸. Cernăuți has rapidly become a specifically central-European city because of the cosmopolite population and architectural style similar to many cities across the Habsburg Empire³⁹. Besides becoming the most important administrative, political, cultural and spiritual centre of Bukovina, the level of the city grew once the University „Franz Josef” came into being on October 4th 1875 and soon became one of the most significant universities of Central Europe. The University was a multicultural one, having a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional profile and had students that came also from the outside of Bukovina; things changed after 1918. In Cernăuți there were formed many associations, cultural, national and artistic, musical and sports societies. It is worth mentioning the students' academic societies that were organized following the Austrian example with specific, strict rules and promoting dialogue, knowledge and respect for ethnic and confessional diversity. The most important student societies from Bukovina were for Austrians: „Austria” (1875–1918), „Lesalle” (1875–1918), „Gothia” (1876–1930), „Allemania” (1877–1938). For the

³⁵ See also Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România [Hebrew Communities Federation of Romania], *Izvoare și mărturii despre evreii din România* [Sources and testimonies about the Jewish in Romania] III/2, Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 1999, doc. 344, p. 352. Fragments were published in Iulius Barasch, *Jews in Bukovina*, in „Gazeta Bucovinei” [Bukovina's newspaper], IV, No. 45, Thursday 9/21 June 1894, p. 1–2.

³⁶ Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România, *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România*, [Sources and testimonies about Jews in Romania], III/2, doc. 344, p. 353.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 354.

³⁸ Radu Grigorovici, *Studiul critic al recensământului austriac din 1880 cu privire la populația Bucovinei*, partea a III - a, *Bucovina, teritoriu de trecere a evreilor galițieni spre România între anii 1880 și 1900* [Critical study of the Austrian census in 1880 on the population of Bukovina, III, Bukovina, territory of passage of the Jewish of Galitia to Romania between the 1880 and 1900], in „Analele Bucovinei”, II, nr. 2, 1995, p. 352.

³⁹ Norman Davies, Roger Moorhouse, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

German students there were: „Arminia” (1877–1938), „Theutonia” (1903–1938) and „Franconia” (1903–1938) the catholic society „Unitas” (1891–1906) which did not have a nationalist character. The Romanian student societies in Cernăuți were the most appreciated and had a large influence on the other students and the other Romanians. These were: „Arboroasa” (1875–1878), „Junimea” (1878–1938), „Bucovina” (1880–1938), „Academia Ortodoxă” (1884–1938), „Dacia” (1905–1938), „Moldova” (1910–1938). The Ukrainian student societies were: „Sojuz” (1875–1921), „Zaporoje” (1909–1938), „Cernomore” (1913–1938), „Sicz” (1902), „Moloda Ukraina”. The Polish student societies were: „Ognisko” (1875–1940) and „Lechia” (1910–1938), „Academia Obștească din Cernăuți „Carpați” a „moscofililor”⁴⁰. The Jewish student societies were: „Hasmoneea” (1891–1938), „Zephirah” (1897–1938), „Hebronia” (1899–1938), „Humanitas” (1900–1918), „Emunag” (1903–1938), „Hetid” (1918–1938)⁴¹. The student societies had different formal wear, national colours; they each had their own anthem and obeyed a code. The student societies’ purpose was to support their members both financially and to fulfil cultural and national objectives⁴² or Enlightening, and also scientific ones. There were no serious conflicts among members of these societies and the University of Cernăuți became a German Heidelberg in Great Romania after 1918. This Austrian heritage was not promoted well enough by the Great Romania’s authorities and faded away in 1938 when Carol the Second decided to forbid the students societies because of the rise of the right extreme phenomenon, and they never activated this beautiful university tradition again. The elite of the Jewish in Bukovina, born in Galicia, formed and grown in Cernăuți established its cultural model both in Yiddish and German, getting its education in public or private schools in Cernăuți. Vienna was in those days – as Siegfried Jägerdorf mentions – a genuine Jerusalem. If you browse through the pages of « Buletinul Camerei de Comerț a orașului Cernăuți » in the inter-war period (our most important concern in this volume) you can clearly see that most of the companies, factories, associations, banks belonged to Jewish businessmen⁴³. This says a lot about the force, power and predominance of the Cernăuți Jewish people. Many of the personalities who made Bukovina famous over the years were in fact born in Cernăuți.

⁴⁰ Daniel Hrenciuc, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴¹ Arhivele Statului Cernăuți (following we will write the ASRC), Ukraine, fund 325, file 25/1922, f. 23.

⁴² Ilie Dugan, *Istoricul Societății Academice Române „Junimea” din Cernăuți. Partea întâia: Arboroasa (1875–1877)* [History of the Academic Romanian Society „Junimea” of Cernăuți. First part: Arboroasa (1875–1877)], Bucharest, Societății Publishing House, 1930, p. 27.

⁴³ See Avram Rosen, *Contribuția evreilor la progresul industrial în România interbelică* [Contribution of the Jewish to the industrial process in Inter war Romania], Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 2002.

Table no. 1. *The evolution of Romanians, Jewish and other nationalities in 1910*⁴⁴.

No.	Position or activity	Romanian	Jewish	Other nationalities
1	Craftsmen	733	5.091	3.494
2	Merchants	444	8.642	1.226
3	Finance specialists	58	70	349
4	Doctors	14	109	28
5	Pharmacists	1	13	17
6	Lawyers	11	136	14
7	Judges	76	141	228
8	Notaries	8	39	9
9	Clerks	33	39	243
10	Administrative workers	128	109	665
11	Church administrators	37	-	73
12	Court clerks	4	55	47
13	Bank workers	7	21	33
14	Professors	10	7	30
15	Teachers	133	60	219

Source: Mihai Iacobescu, *30 de zile în „Siberia”. Căutând arhivele Bucovinei* [30 days in „Siberia” looking for Bukovina archives], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2003.

The Jewish community was predominant economically, financially, spiritually and educationally compared with other mosaic communities in Romania⁴⁵. In the XIII-XV century the Cernăuți Jewish people were mostly askenard (known as Ostjuden – eastern Jewish in German) who had settled here in the times of Alexandru cel Bun and benefitting from the commercial privileges also given to Polish, Armenian and Tartar people⁴⁶ in Cernăuți, Hotin and Soroca⁴⁷. The Askenards were related to people in Galicia and Poland⁴⁸ – many of them had similar names – and were easy to recognize because of their clothing and the way they spoke⁴⁹. At the beginning of the XVIIIth century there came to Cernăuți Jewish people originating in Spain and Portugal. So at the beginning of the XIXth century Cernăuți had become the most important centre of the Jewish in Bukovina and one of the most important centres in Central Europe: the religious and social core was the synagogue where

⁴⁴ Mihai Iacobescu, *30 de zile în „Siberia” căutând Arhivele Bucovinei* [30 days in „Siberia” looking for Bukovina archives], Iași, Junimea Publishing House, 2003, p. 250.

⁴⁵ Al. Bocănețu, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁴⁶ *From The History Of Chernivtsi Jews*, Cernăuți, 2008, p. 4.

⁴⁷ Dragoș Vitencu, *Cernăuțiul meu*, [My Chernivtsi], Suceava, Accent Print Publishing House, 2008, p. 31.

⁴⁸ Casimir Smogorzewski, *La Pologne Restaurée*, Paris, Gebethner&Wolff, Librairie Franco-Polonaise Et Etrangère, 1927, p. 212–214.

⁴⁹ Filon Lucău-Dănilă, Dumitru Rusan, *Fundul Moldovei*, Fundu Moldovei, Dimitrie Gusti Society, 2000, p. 128.

rabbis educated young people in the spirit of the Tora and Talmud insisting on keeping the old traditions alive⁵⁰. In Cernăuți there were many synagogues- due to the large number and economic power but also to the high education level of the Jewish people-, real art pieces (unfortunately they have been destroyed either by the wars or by the communist regime which gave them the weirdest destinations). The most well-known and imposing synagogue in Cernăuți was the Great Temple, initiated by rabbi Elieser Eliahu Iegel (1825 – 1892), leader of the extremist Jewish from the capital city of Bukovina. On the 8th of May 1873, the chief rabbi and the patriarch founded the future coral temple, built after the plans of the famous Armenian-Polish architect Julian Zacharewicz⁵¹.

Up to 1875 the rabbi of the mosaic community in Cernăuți was in the same time the main rabbi of Bukovina. The rabbi institution was symbolically a working gospel, as it encouraged the Jewish people to use the God given gifts. They were asked to show their abilities and be available and also to cultivate humanitarian values. Many of the rabbis themselves were also craftsmen⁵². Following the disagreement between the ultra-orthodox Jewish and the Enlightening leaders of the Community, in August 1872, 500 orthodox families decided to elect a different rabbi, Benjamin Weiss, and requested to be recognized as a distinct community⁵³. As follows, it was decided that the religious service for the ultra-orthodox Jewish be held in the Great Synagogue Cernăuți, and the enlightened stayed in the Israelite Temple. In 1890 a law was adopted concerning the commune organization, compulsory for all the mosaic communities in Cisleithan Austria. This law defined the mosaic communities as being legitimate units, able of collecting taxes only for religious, social, cultural and educational purposes, thus limiting the mosaic autonomy⁵⁴. The mosaic communities were only recognized as religious entities; the law did not allow them to be represented or organized politically. In the 1890 law 15 mosaic communities were mentioned in Bukovina. The status of each of these had to be acknowledged by the official authorities. This law remained valid until the cult's law of the Great Romania in 1928 was adopted⁵⁵.

Chaim Tirer Czernowitzer (1789–1807) was the first rabbi of the mosaic community in Cernăuți and the most important rabbi of Bukovina⁵⁶. An illustrious

⁵⁰ Ezra Mendelson, *The Jews of East Central Europe between Two Wars*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1983, p. 184.

⁵¹ *From The History Of Chernivtsi Jews*, p. 27.

⁵² Paul Johson, *O istorie a evreilor* [History of the Jewish], Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 2003, p. 142.

⁵³ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii austriece (1774–1918)* [Bucovina during Austrian administration (1774–1918)], Chișinău, Civitas Publishing House, 2003, p. 202.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 203.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

⁵⁶ Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România, *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România* III/2, Hebrew Communities Federation of Romania, [Sources and testimonies about the Jewish in Romania III/2], Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 1999, p. 378.

representative of Hasidism,⁵⁷ he contributed essentially to the improvement of the cultural life of the Jewish people in Bukovina⁵⁸. He was against the enlightenment influences into the mosaic communities and the young Jewish people attending German schools⁵⁹. In 1807, Chaim Tirer left for Palestine, and in his place, after an *intermezzo* that lasted until 1833, Isaac Samson was named. He was the leader of the mosaic community in Cernăuți for a very long time, until 1870⁶⁰. Among the important rabbis of the mosaic communities in Cernăuți we are mentioning Eliezer Igel (1853 – 1893), Josef Rosenfeld (1893 – 1923) and Abraham Iacob Mark (1926 – 1941)⁶¹. Rabbi Abraham Jaakov Mark got the title of Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Vienna. Abraham Jakob Mark was a rabbi of the mosaic community in Cernăuți (being a cousin of Moses Rosen, Great Rabbi of Romania). Born in a town in eastern Galicia, Abraham Jakob Mark preached at the Modern Orthodox Temple and also at the Coral Temple, the reformist synagogue of Cernăuți. A true Zionist, Abraham Jakob Mark was the leader of “Mizrachi” society and took part in many Zionist congresses. He was concerned about teaching lessons of Tora and Talmud, and tactfully avoided political temptations.

He was assassinated –on the 6th of July 1942, after David Schaary, a year earlier after other historiography sources - by German army militaries and buried into the common grave of the victims of Cernăuți pogrom⁶². The event itself reflects the tragic destiny of the Cernăuți Jewish people, a community with a special contribution to the province spirituality. Important edilitary, cultural, administrative, spiritual edifices were built in the capital of Bukovina, turning it into a real central European metropolis at the crossroads of the East and the West⁶³. Thus, in 1908 the Centre National Jewish Centre of Cernăuți was opened, and in 1911 at the initiative of professor Leon Kellner Toynbee Halle was inaugurated and it became the centre of the Zionist movement in Bukovina. The mosaic community in Cernăuți was recognized as being very important for the city and so many Jewish mayors, councillors and deputies were elected. In 1905 Eduard Reiss became the first Jewish mayor of Cernăuți, followed by Salo Weisselberg in 1913⁶⁴.

A powerful, respected personality, Salo Weisselberg became an active Zionist⁶⁵. Max Diamant founded, along with a group of Jewish Law of the University

⁵⁷ S. M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. From the Earliest Times until the present day*, Volume II, Philadelphia, The Jews Publications Society of America, 1918, p. 116–125.

⁵⁸ *Introductive Study*, in vol. Federația Comunităților Evreiești din România, *Izvoare și mărturii referitoare la evreii din România III/1*, Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 1999, p. 107.

⁵⁹ Constantin Ungureanu, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 204.

⁶² David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p.150–51.

⁶³ Raimund Fr. Kaendl, *Geschichte von Czernowitz*, Chernivtsi, Zelena Bucovina Publishing House, 2008, p. 148.

⁶⁴ ASRC fund 325, file 2383/1930/1931, f. 2.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

of Cernăuți (Berl Kinsbrunner, Markus Krämer), the „Zepirah” society in 1897. In 1907 Max Diamant became vice-president of the Jewish Party⁶⁶. In 1908, in Cernăuți took place the first International Congress (known as „Tchernovitzer Conference” or „Die Czernowitzer Sprachkonferenz”) on Yiddish⁶⁷. The idea of this important manifestation belonged to Natham Birnbaum⁶⁸, a famous Jewish writer from Vienna. Among the names present at the Conference were: I. L. Peretz, A. Reisen, Sh. Ash, H. D. Homberg, Esther Frumkin, etc⁶⁹. On this occasion Isaak Leib Peretz requested stopping the Kulturkampf” between the supporters of Yiddish and those of the Hebrew⁷⁰. Historian Paul Johnston wrote about „choosing the capital city of Bukovina for this important Conference – although Cernăuți was a great Jewish world centre- was not at all accidental. Here, there lived an important, powerful, homogeneous, community famous in the Austrian Hungarian Empire and beyond. Cernăuți also known as Czernowitz in Yiddish gathered many important personalities to debate the Yiddish problem. Common for their history and destiny, in the dark Middle Ages, the Jewish came to live in towns and so did 30% of those in Bukovina”⁷¹.

Table no. 2. *The evolution of the Jewish population in the second half of the XIXth century*

Town	Total of the population	Jewish people	Percent
Cernăuți	85. 458	28. 613	33, 48%
Câmpulung	8.726	1. 577	18, 07%
Coțmani	5. 577	666	11, 94%
Gura Humorului	5. 257	2. 050	38,99%
Rădăuți	16. 604	3. 940	35,77%
Siret	7. 815	3. 178	40,66%
Storoiineț	10. 266	3. 453	33,63%
Suceava	11. 314	4. 200	37, 12%
Vășcăuți	5. 749	961	16, 71%
Vijnița	5. 216	4. 317	82,77%
Zastavna	4. 622	563	12, 18%

Source: Mihai Ștefan Ceașu, *Evoluția populației evreiești urbane din Bucovina în a doua jumătate a secolului XIX*, in „SAHIR”, X, 2007, p. 36.

⁶⁶ Ion Lihaciu, *Unele aspecte din procesul intentat de Max Diamant pentru recunoașterea oficială de către administrația Imperiului Habsburgic a idișului* [Some aspects of Max Diamant’s pursuit of official recognition of Yiddish by the Habsburg administration], in SAHIR, V, 2000, p. 186.

⁶⁷ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

⁶⁸ Ion Lihaciu, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁶⁹ *From The History Of Chernivtsi Jews*, p. 34.

⁷⁰ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁷¹ Paul Johnson, *O istorie a evreilor*, Bucharest, Hasefer Publishing House, 2003, p. 141.

In 2008 famous scientific Judaic community people and many others gathered again – this time in Ukraine – to mark one century from the first Yiddish International Congress. The organization and debates had a powerful echo⁷²: next year, the Cernăuți doctor Max Diamant wrote a petition requesting a national status for the Yiddish; however his initiative remained unsolved⁷³. On the 13th of May, Max Diamant sued the Habsburg authorities to admit Yiddish as an official language. In his complaint, Diamant claimed the breaking of the XIXth article of the 21st December Constitution – *regarding the general rights of the citizens in the provinces and countries represented in the Reichsrat* - which gave citizens the right to cultivating national values and in this case “continuation and cultivating the Jewish language and nationality”⁷⁴. Max Diamant lost the law suit and the reason was that Jewish people could not claim the right to their own language⁷⁵. The Ministry of the Internal Affairs mentioned in its pleading that „the Jewish do not form a nation and are therefore not the carriers of language rights (...). And the language they use in the eastern parts of the Empire is not an official one”⁷⁶.

Even though Max Diamant brought into defence the privileges given to the Jewish by Maria Tereza in 1772, and the fact the Town Hall of Rădăuți surprisingly edited some official announcements in Yiddish, the judges did not favour the complaint⁷⁷. They considered the Jewish people not more than a religious group and not a Volksstamm⁷⁸. Later, there were other attempts in the debates and discussions in the Dieta or Reichsrat (the Parliament in Vienna-D.H.)⁷⁹. Cernăuți vs. Czernowitz became a cultural Yiddish and Hebrew centre – to mention only these communication languages – and also German in which Paul Celan and Rose Ausländer, Albert Maurüber, Arthur Kraft, Lothar Wurzer, Ernst Maria Flinker, Karl Sebastian (Salus) Markus, Artur Oberländer, Alfred Margul Sperber wrote⁸⁰. In the cultural and spiritual centre of Czernowitz there appeared Șlomo Bickel (1896–1969) considered the greatest Yiddish writer of Bukovina⁸¹. An important, influent appreciated personality, Karl Emil Franzos (1848-1904)⁸² had a distant disagreement with Mihai Eminescu: the latter had published in „Curierul de Iași” (on the 25 of August 1876) a

⁷² Andrei Corbea, *Paul Celan și “meridianul său”*. *Repere vechi și noi pe un atlas central-european* [Paul Celan and “his meridian”. Old and new landmarks in a Central european atlas], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 1998, p. 43.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Ion Lihaciu, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 189.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 192-194.

⁷⁸ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁷⁹ Ion Lihaciu, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁸⁰ Andrei Corbea, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

⁸¹ Carol Iancu, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁸² Paul Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 250.

very short note called „The Jewish seed in Cernăuți”⁸³ which was interpreted in extremely ironic ways⁸⁴. In his visit to Cernăuți, the Romanian scholar Nicolae Iorga said he felt he was in a “Jewish city” and the University was “Austrian for the Jewish”⁸⁵. Nicolae Iorga’s ideas has had a nationalist influence on many young generations, but it remained moderate as the savant personally pleaded against violence and extremism to which he himself was a victim on November 27th 1940.

The importance of the mosaic community in Cernăuți was huge, as compared to other similar communities in Galicia and even Europe⁸⁶. Cernăuți was a part of the famous concept of *Mitteleuropa* which was of German origin⁸⁷ and had echoes in the entire central European region through the *lingua franca* in German⁸⁸. At a seminar organized in New York on the role of the city of Cernăuți for the Jewish community (on the 8th of March 2010), the well-known writer Norman Manea described Cernăuți as „the Jerusalem on the Prut River” „the second Jewish Canaan” or „a Jewish Eldorado in Austria”. The Jewish people of Cernăuți have financially supported the publishing of some newspapers and magazines belonging to the German community in Bukovina⁸⁹. This is very important and significant for the relationship with the German population, built on different patterns and on a different land. Later on, the influence of the social nationalism among the Germans ruined the relationship with the Jewish people⁹⁰. The mosaic community in Cernăuți was very well represented: the Jewish National House, the Jewish hospital⁹¹, the Jewish Orphanage the Jewish School, the Jewish Hospice two cemeteries, a slaughterhouse, the public bath „mivke”, were all sponsored by the rich Jewish. After 1918, the American Joint from Chicago also contributed and so did some other 125 volunteer organizations, most of them accepted by the authorities. Czernowitz was rightfully named “Die Stadt der Vereine” (the city of associations and organizations in German)⁹². In the interwar

⁸³ Andrei Corbea, *Karl Emil Franzos și Mihai Eminescu și lecția unei polemici „la distanță”* [Karl Emil Franzos and Mihai Eminescu and the lesson of a distant dispute] în „SAHIR”, III, 1998, p. 191.

⁸⁴ Idem, *Icoane din Bucovina/M. Eminescu K. E. Franzos* [Icons of Bukovina/M. Eminescu K. E. Franzos]; edited by Ion Filipciuc, Câmpulung Moldovenesc, Miorița Library, 2003, p. XXI.

⁸⁵ Idem, *Paul Celan și “meridianul său”. Repere vechi și noi pe un atlas central-european* [Paul Celan and „his meridian”. Old and new landmarks in a Central european atlas], p. 34.

⁸⁶ Idem, *Memorie colectivă, memorie individuală*, [Collective memory, individual memory], in SAHIR, IV, 1999, p. 246–250.

⁸⁷ Jacques Le Rider, *Europa Centrală și paradoxul fragilității* [Central Europe and the paradox of fragility], Iași, Polirom Publishing House, 2001, p. 111.

⁸⁸ Norman Davies, *Europe. A History*, Pimlico, London, 1997, p. 1012.

⁸⁹ Oskar Hadbawnik, *Das Pressewesen in Czernowitz*, in vol. *Czernowitz. Eine Stadt in Wandel der Zeit*, München/Stuttgart, 1988, p. 94 – 97.

⁹⁰ David Schaary, *Comunitatea evreilor din Cernăuți în perioada administrației românești între cele două războaie mondiale* [The Community of the Jewish of Chernivtsi during the Romanian administration between the two World Wars], in SAHIR, IV, 1999, p. 137.

⁹¹ Wlad Bănățeanu, Etel Knittel, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

⁹² David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

period Dr. Josef Orestein was the manager of the Jewish hospital⁹³. The Joint Organizations activated in Cernăuți, helping out a number of 570 children and war widows of Jewish origin. The ORT with headquarters in Berlin activated in Cernăuți starting with September 1921. This organization created women and men tailoring classes, woodwork classes etc. for the young Jewish. In 1953 there were 183 boys and 84 girls attending these classes taught by 15 teachers⁹⁴. Other organizations included „Safra Ivrya”, that we have mentioned in the chapter dedicated to education. „Safra Ivrya” had very low budget and “had to deal with the efforts of the authorities to limit its activities”⁹⁵. The association of „Safra Ivrya” had been created in 1905 at the initiative of Joseph Birer. In 1920 this association was taking care of 4 nursery schools in Hebrew, organized evening classes for 120 students, a primary school with 4 classes attended by 130 students, as well as a Paedagogium, a seminar for nursery school teachers.

In 1924, „Safra Ivrya” had 700 members. The Hebrew lessons were extremely rare, as were the young people who were using this language⁹⁶. Hebrew was taught in private schools in Cernăuți, by teachers coming from Bessarabia. There was also a Hebrew Club „Ahad-Ha-Am” which organized Hebrew culture and civilizations lectures. At the „Europa” café in Cernăuți, the Hebrew speakers had their own corner called „Štammtisch”⁹⁷. The „Schulverein” association created in 1919 by the left wing aimed at organizing educational evening activities for children at the professional school of „Morgenroith”⁹⁸. „Schulverein” lead an outstanding activity in Yiddish where many intellectuals were to be remarked such as Feivel Steinberg, Mayer Rosner, Schomo Bickel, Haim Lecker, Israel Schaffer, conducted by Eliezer Steinbarg, coming from din Lipcani, Bessarabia⁹⁹. In the capital city of Bukovina also activated “The society for helping the secondary schools in Cernăuți”¹⁰⁰. Mention must be made of the activity of the lodges of Bnai Brith – created in 1919, and „Veritas” and „Fraternitas”, founded in the interwar period. Between 1919–1922 there functioned a „Committee for helping the refugees from Ukraine”, led by Markus Kramer, Karl Klüger and Samuel Goldfeld. Among the humanitarian associations we mention Hahnasath Kalah – to help young women get married, Mahzikei Šabbath, to help poor people respect the Sabbath, Bikur Holim, to help poor sick people, Frauen Hilfverein, Deborah as well as Gmiluth Hasidim to help the poor¹⁰¹. Poor Jewish students were also helped with food at a special canteen or for leaving to study in universities. Thus, there were numerous associations which dealt with the problems of the young, the old and the sick.

⁹³ A.S.R.C. fund 325, file 2049.

⁹⁴ David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ A.S.R.C. fund 325, file 2383/1930/1931, f. 5.

¹⁰¹ David Schaary, *op. cit.* p. 156.

The Jewish Orphanage was built in 1904 due to the donation of the Wagner family and in the interwar period it was sponsored by the Joint. The old Jewish cemetery founded in 1866 was totally destroyed by the Soviet administration and along with it there disappeared “pieces of outstanding artistic and sentimental value”¹⁰². The new Jewish cemetery was built in Horecea, having 80.000 tombs that belonged to the „golden age” of the Jewish in Cernăuți¹⁰³. In Cernăuți the Jewish owned the main hotels: Hotel „Central”, Hotel „Bristol”, Hotel „Palace”, Hotel „Zum Schwarzen Adler”, Hotel „Gottlieb” etc.)¹⁰⁴, and dominated over the liberal professions. Out of a total of 562 companies in Cernăuți a number of 525 belonged to the Jewish. In 1910 out of a total of 2140 workers and 1402 merchants in town, 1481 respectively 1269 were Jewish¹⁰⁵. Only 24 % of the Jewish in Bukovina were involved in agriculture and forestry¹⁰⁶. At the beginning of the 30s, the Jewish people were using more Yiddish and less German - 80% of it - as they considered it their native language. The distinct way of the Jewish community in Bukovina – not only in Cernăuți – was due, among others, to the knowing and using of the German language, basically the language of the culture that integrated, formed and gave many of them all sorts of opportunities. The case of Paul Celan, Rosa Ausländer, Eliezer Steinbarg are extremely relevant and useful in supporting our idea¹⁰⁷. The whole atmosphere and experience in Bukovina was specific to the German culture and civilization. Cernăuți has remained known as Czernowitz up to the present days. This is due to the mosaic community here, one of the largest in the world. Historians like Wolfgang Benz, Brigitte Mihok have recently written the following: « The economy and commerce were controlled by the Jewish, the city was marked by the Jewish doctors, lawyers, pharmacists and teachers; an educated and wealthy middle class, not at all like the one situated east of Stetl, in the neighbouring Galicia”¹⁰⁸. In the interwar period the Jewish continued to use the name of Czernowitz, Yiddish for Cernăuți, as they were the most numerous of the great city on the banks of Prut and the third as

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ A.S.R.C. fund 325, file 1836, f. 17.

¹⁰⁴ Wlad Bănățeanu, Etel Knittel, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

¹⁰⁵ Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în timpul dominației austriece* [Bukovina during Austrian domination (1774–1918)], Chișinău, Civitas Publishing House, 2003, p. 158.

¹⁰⁶ Idem, *Populația Bucovinei în perioada 1850–1910*, în vol. *Populația României. Trecut, prezent, viitor. Lucrările Conferinței internaționale „Populația României. Trecut, prezent, viitor”*, Cluj-Napoca –Arcaia, 19–22 octombrie 2006 [The Population of Bukovina in 1850–1910, în vol. The Population of Romania. Past, present and future. The papers of the International Conference „The Population of Romania. Past, present and future”], Cluj-Napoca –Arcaia, 19–22 octombrie 2006, coordinated by Traian Rotariu, Sorina Paul Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, Cluj Napoca, Presa Universitară Clujeană Publishing House, 2006, p. 289–290.

¹⁰⁷ Mariana Hausleitner, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

¹⁰⁸ Wolfgang Benz, Brigitte Mihok, *Holocaustul la periferie. Persecutarea și nimicirea evreilor în România și Transnistria în 1940–1944* [Holocaust at periphery. The Persecution and killing of the Jewish in Romania and Transnistria in 1940–1944], Chișinău, Cartier Internațional Publishing House, 2010, p. 26.

number of people from the towns across Great Romania, after București and Chișinău¹⁰⁹. This meant 42.592 (37,9%) Jewish that lived in Cernăuți according to the census of 1930¹¹⁰. This data collected and analyzed by the famous specialist Sabin Manuilă reflected and characterized the ethnic profile of the majority of the population in the interwar Cernăuți. The relationships of the Jewish and the Romanian authorities were specific to the Bukovina region and they were also influenced by the foreign input that has created problems on numerous occasions. The anti-Semitism and its development inside the University of Carol the Second from Cernăuți led to violence in Bukovina. The anti-Semite movement - in 1926 young David Falik was shot to death by Nicolae Totu¹¹¹ - became stronger in the counties of the historic Bukovina and the atmosphere was quite¹¹² as shown in the reports of the Gendarmerie, Secret Services, Police, in the newspapers articles and Parliament speeches, in the official reports of the Societies of the Nations –The Committee of the Three¹¹³.

The texts of the letters of complaint sent by the Jewish leaders to the Committee of the Three reflects a reality not so much shown in the official papers: the degrading of the peaceful atmosphere among the ethnics of Bukovina, violence against the Jewish people etc. On March 27th 1933 there was a conflict between the guard students and the Jewish students, mentioned by the General State's Attorney at the Appeal Court in Bucharest: I have the honour to report that the manager of the Jewish Theatre claims that last night several windows of the theatre building were broken. The manager blames the Christian students who had a conflict with a group of Jewish right in front of the theatre, on which occasion the Christians were attacked with knives¹¹⁴. Between 19th and 20th of January 1933 several conflicts took place in Cernăuți between Romanian and Jewish students following a lawsuit of some Jewish communists¹¹⁵. The Jewish students at the University of Cernăuți took common defence measures against legionary attacks and cuzists (members of the National Christian Party led by Octavian Goga - D. H.), a decision taken by political leaders such as M. Ebner, M. Grünberg, M. Reifer¹¹⁶. At a meeting of the Jewish Party on April 5th 1933 it was decided that the Christian shops that" financially or morally

¹⁰⁹ David Schaary, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

¹¹⁰ Constantin Ungureanu, *Populația localităților din partea românofonă a regiunii Cernăuți în 1930 și 1989* [The population of the towns of the Romanian side of the Chernivtsi Region], in "Țara Fagilor" (XX), 2011, p. 55.

¹¹¹ Armin Heinen, *România. Holocaustul și logica violenței* [Romania, Holocaust and the logic of the violence], Iași, University Press „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2011, p. 114.

¹¹² Daniel Hrenciuc, *Integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina în România Mare: abordarea național liberală* [The Integration of the national minorities of Bukovina into the Great Romania; a national liberal approach], in „Analele Bucovinei” [Annals of Bucovina], XIII, 1, 2006, p. 61.

¹¹³ Ioan Scurtu, Liviu Boar, *Minoritățile naționale din România (1918–1925). Documente* [The national minorities in Romania (1918–1925). Documents], Bucharest, National Archives of Romania, 1995.

¹¹⁴ Dragoș Zamfirescu, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.177.

¹¹⁶ Ștefan Purici, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

encouraged the hitlerist and cuzist actions” were to be boycotted¹¹⁷. In May 1933 the University of Cernăuți was temporarily closed because of these riots¹¹⁸. These manifestations were amplified by the instauration of the social nationalist regime of Adolf Hitler in Germany¹¹⁹ (on the 16th of January 1933)¹²⁰, the rise of which encouraged and supported the right wing extremists across Europe and particularly in Bukovina. The traumatic experiences lived by the few survivors of deportations in Transnistria or in ghettos are terrifying and relevant for the destiny of this community that had to endure so much¹²¹. The predominance of the Jewish in the economic, social, cultural, confessional, educational and spiritual evolution of Cernăuți up to the Second World War was impressive, not to minimize the contributions of the other ethnic minorities. Basically, an ethnic consensus characterized the daily life in historic Bukovina and especially in its administrative, economic, cultural, and spiritual capital city, Cernăuți. In the interwar period, the Jewish were the most numerous populations in Cernăuți, with important and significant contributions to the universal culture and spirituality. Cernăuți has remained a true landmark for the central-European culture at the crossroads of the East and West, a place of deep cultural, confessional and spiritual interference between and people and civilizations.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Daniel Hrenciuc, *Continuitate și schimbare: Integrarea minorităților naționale din Bucovina istorică în Regatul României Mari (1918–1940)*, vol. II (1928–1940) [Continuity and change: The integration of the national minorities from historic Bukovina to the Kingdom of Romania (1918–1940)], Vol. II (1928–1940)], Suceava, Mușatinii Publishing House, 2007, p. 246.

¹¹⁹ Hannah Arendt, *Originile totalitarismului* [The origins of totalitarianism], Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1994, p. 419.

¹²⁰ Andreas Hilgruber, *Hitler, Regele Carol și Mareșalul Antonescu. Relațiile româno-germane 1938–1944* [Hitler, King Carol and Marshall Antonescu. The Romanian-German relations 1938–1944], Bucharest, Humanitas Publishing House, 1994, p. 46.

¹²¹ Marcu Rozen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

A DELICATE TOPIC: INABILITY OF ONE OF THE SPOUSES TO PURSUE A CONJUGAL LIFE

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Rezumat: *Articolul analizează un subiect insuficient tratat în istoriografie, ce ține de istoria familiei – impotența unuia dintre soți în viața conjugală și, implicit, divorțul. Întemeiat pe exemple concrete din Basarabia primei jumătăți a secolului al XIX-lea, demersul științific al autoarei pune în lumină realitățile vremii, abordează chestiunea acordării divorțului și prezintă modul în care erau respectate canoanele bisericii. Ca surse de cercetare au fost utilizate preponderent documente din fondurile Arhivei de Stat a Republicii Moldova.*

Abstract: *The article covers a topic related to family history – impotence and divorce, insufficiently treated in historiography. In this study based on concrete examples from Bessarabia, it will be presented the daily reality in the problem of divorce granted for the inability of a spouse to conjugal life and how the canons of the church were respected in the first half of the nineteenth century. As sources of research were used documents from the funds of the State Archives of Republic of Moldova.*

Résumé: *L'article ci-joint fait référence à un sujet insuffisamment traité dans l'historiographie, qui tient de l'histoire de la famille – l'impotence de l'un des maris dans la vie conjugale et le divorce. Notre démarche scientifique, tout en partant des exemples concrets de la Bessarabie de la première moitié du XIX-e siècle, présente la réalité quotidienne liée du problème qu'on vient de mentionner, le divorce et la façon dont les chanoines de l'église ont été respectés. La recherche s'est basée surtout sur des documents provenant des fonds des Archives d'Etat de la République de Moldavie.*

Keywords: *family, conjugal life, inability, impotence, divorce, canonic law, Bessarabia, Russian Empire.*

Marriage can be treated from various points of view: legal, economic, social, psychological, moral, religious, and physiological. As the *Dictionary of Psychology* states, “the own note of the family, as a social institution based on mutual choice of marital partners, is to ensure reproduction of the species, in determined socio-cultural conditions”¹. Marriage of a man and a woman is also a biological phenomenon, being

¹ Paul Popescu-Neveanu, *Dicționar de psihologie* [Dictionary of psychology], Bucharest, Albatros Publishing House, 1978.

the means of propagating the human race and a factor of generations' continuity². In a close relationship, marriage – as a biological fact – covers physiological and psychological aspects. The physiological factor consists in the sexual attraction of two different genders, which may result in pregnancy and the birth of a follower, or various diseases, etc. Alongside these physiological moments, in a marriage, family psychology, marital relations, and love lead to a harmonious development of the individual. In addition to biological factors, it is well-known that the family had and continues to have a social-economic and a basic role in a state. Therefore the state, according to religious rules, try to solve the problem, engaging in a sensitive intimate issue of a family, such as the sexual relations between spouses, because abnormal relations in a family had an impact not only on the family, but also in the community, on the collective mentality, and on the entire society.

In medieval and modern times the marriage was considered sacred, and ecclesiastical authorities allowed divorce only in very serious cases. The impotence falls under the moral grounds for divorce³. According to the Medical Dictionary, impotence is the inability of a man „to have a satisfactory sexual intercourse”. This type of „disorder is caused by organic or psychological origin”⁴. The analysis of case of impotence in the nineteenth-century, but in earlier periods, is difficult and controversial, because it shows the mentality of the times. Few couples or women had the courage to testify about such a problem in their family life.

The problem of inability of one of the spouses to pursue a conjugal life in Moldavia, Wallachia, Transylvania and Russian Empire was examined in papers, studies and books signed by the Family History researchers, which present the phenomenon in the context of family life or in terms of the position of the woman

² П.В. Левитов, *О брачном союзе и его значении в области половых отношений* [About the marital union and its importance in the field of sexual relation], in “Христианское чтение”, 1905, 7, pp. 65-84.

³ To note that preceding from religious canons, from the mentality of the society and from customs towards the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth-century, the grounds for divorce were classified as: I. Moral - adultery, abortion, attempt on husband's life, crime, venereal disease, leaving home, etc.; II. Religious - heresy, holding during the baptism their own child, violation of the rules of the marriage sanction; III. Physical - **impotence**, incurable disease, infectious disease; IV. Civil - disappearance of a spouse, taking the vow, etc. See Nicolae Fuștei, *Creștinismul pe înțelesul tuturor* [Christianity Explained], Chișinău, 2008, p. 284; Sorina Bolovan, Ioan Bolovan, *Contribuții privind divorțialitatea în Transilvania la sfârșitul secolului XIX și începutul secolului XX* [Contributions regarding divorce in Transylvania in the late 19th and early 20th century], in C. Padureanu (coord.), *Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XVII – XXI)* [Historical demography studies (17 – 21 centuries)], Arad, 2010, pp. 99-114; Mircea Brie, *Divorțul ca formă de erodare a familiei în comitatele Bihor și Sătmar (a doua jumătate a secolului XIX)* [Divorce as a form of erosion of the family in the counties of Bihor and Satmar (the second half of the 19th century)], in *Studii de demografie istorică...*, pp. 77-98.

⁴ *Dicționar de medicină. Larousse* [Dictionary of Medicine. Larousse], Univers Enciclopedic Publishing House, p. 313.

in couple's life⁵. Reporting on the family in Moldova in medieval times, the researcher Lilia Zabolotnaia argues: „Even if divorce was scheduled for non-conjugal relationships, obviously very difficult, almost inconceivable was for the wife to denounce her husband. In medieval society it was unusual to display personal life, especially sex life. In case the divorce was filed for that reason, in the trial it used to be called any other reason, but not this one, fact confirmed by a total lack of documents”⁶. For the period between the 16th and 17th century, only one document in the Romanian countries speaks explicitly about initiating divorce due to conjugal impotence; it is an application for separation filed by a woman, in 1691⁷. Taking into account this cause for dissolution of a marriage, the researcher found that it was mentioned extremely rare in documents about divorce in other European countries, for example in Poland, where merely a single case was detected, when an attempt was made to terminate a marriage on the ground of the conjugal non-compliance⁸. Yet, there is no work concerning the problem of impotence in Bessarabia.

The Church's view on problem of inability of one of the spouses to pursue a conjugal life

According to religious canons, the profane that intentionally caused him this physical defect was removed from the sacred mysteries for three years (Ap. 21, 22, 23, I Sobor.1). Commenting the laws of Holy Apostles, of Episcopal Synods etc.,

⁵ Constanța Ghițulescu, *În șalvari și cu ișlic. Biserică, sexualitate, căsătorie și divorț în Țările Românești ale secolului al XVIII-lea* [In salwars and ishlik. Church, sexuality, marriage and divorce in the Romanian Countries of the 18th century], București, 2004; C. Padureanu (coord.), *Studii de demografie istorică (secolele XVII – XXI)* [Historical demography studies (17 – 21 centuries)], Arad, 2010; *Ciclul vieții familiale la românii din Transilvania în a doua jumătate a sec. al XIX-lea și începutul sec. XX* [Family life cycle of Romanians from Transylvania in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth century], editori Ioan Bolovan, Diana Covaci, Daniela Deteșan, Marius Eppel, Elena Crinela Holom, Presa Universitară Clujeană Publishing House, 2009; M. K. Царунова, *Русское семейное право XVI-XVIII вв* [Russian family law in 16-18 centuries], Москва, 1991, Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Femeia în relațiile de familie din Țara Moldovei în contextul european până la începutul sec. al XVIII-lea (Căsătorie, logodnă, divorț)* [The woman in family relations in Moldova in the European context until the beginning of 18th century (Marriage, engagement, divorce)], Chișinău, 2011, p.175.

⁶ Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Femeia...*

⁷ The author publishes the full text of the document taken from Nicolae Iorga, *Documente românești din arhivele Bistriței (scrisori domnești și scrisori private)* [Romanian documents from the archives of Bistrița (royal letters and private letters)], Part II, Bucharest, Librăria Socec Publishing House, 1899, p. 80 and a detailed analysis of it, see L. Zabolotnaia, *op.cit.*, p. 175.

⁸ It's about Lithuanian magnate Krzysztof Moniwid Dorohostajski, charged of impotence with second wife, Zofia s Radziwiłłow, in Lilia Zabolotnaia, *Femeia în relațiile*, pp. 177-178.

Bishop Nicodemus (Milos) claims that the person who caused the fault committed a great sin, characterized as a suicide⁹. The reason that caused such a *pravila* to appear was the activity of Valesieni sect created in the second century, translating in its own way the words of Jesus in Mt. 19, 12, it introduced among its followers the emasculation. Against this sect *pravilele* of Holy Apostles were directed. It seems that this sect was widespread, for the repetition of these *pravilas* is found in the *First Council of Nicaea* (325), and *Fourth Council of Constantinople*¹⁰.

In the Western Church, the impotence as grounds for divorce is mentioned in the canons of the Synod of Liftin (Belgium) in 743, in canon 17 of the Synod of Vermer (diocese Suasson) in 753, in canon 15 of the Synod of Zaltsburg in 799¹¹. The researcher Zagorovski claims that the use of this ground for divorce, and making its reference to church decisions, shows that the church gives to this motif a destructive power of the family and it is a testimony to the frequent examples in practice. Thus, the canon 20 of the Synod of Compiègne in 756-757 states: "If the wife says that her husband was not able to lead a proper conjugal life, while the husband will support the opposite, the husband must be believed."

The Orthodox Church using this cause for divorce shows the following:

1) Impotence should be before marriage. Its loss during marriage, could not serve as grounds for the dissolution of a marriage, because the marriage from a Christian point of view includes not only physical elements, but also moral.

2) Unawareness of the husband of his disability before the marriage could be grounds for divorce, because the Orthodox Church was admitting marriage with such men, except the emasculate ones, assuming that the disability can be treated.

3) The woman can file for a divorce if she did not know of her husband's impotence before marriage because it is believed that such a marriage was concluded without her consent¹².

The problem of impotence in various codes and acts

In Byzantine law the provisions regarding impotence have been reported in *Codex Justinianus* (529- 534) and the laws of Leo and Constantine. *Codex Justinianus* claims that "marriage may be dissolved blamelessly if the husband had

⁹ Епископ Никодим (Милош), *Правила Святой Православной Церкви с толкованиями* [The laws of the Holy Orthodox Church with the interpretations], Часть 1, Holy Trinity Orthodox Mission, 2001. http://lib.eparhia-saratov.ru/books/13n/nikodim_milosh/rules1/rules1.pdf. Accessed in November 28.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ А. Загоровский, *О разводе по русскому праву* [Divorce by Russian law], Харьков, 1884, p.140.

¹² *Ibid.*

no contact with his wife for three years”¹³. The laws of Leo and Constantine proclaim the same conclusion if „the man for three years never had conjugal cohabitation with his wife”¹⁴.

Pipin's Capitulary of 753 announced that in the case of husband's impotence, the wife is allowed to wail her husband „for the husband leaving nuptial bed” and if that was demonstrated the spouses could divorce, wife being entitled to dispose of her fate. But already in the capitulary of 757 he claims that for such an accusation, the credence is given to man's words¹⁵.

The researcher Tsaturova claims that in the Russian Empire, based on this reason, marriage could be dissolved only after three years of marriage¹⁶. *Zakon Gradskii* says: „A marriage is dissolved with a rational and good reason, when someone will not be able to have a physical communication with his wife, and fulfil what is required from spouses indicated by its nature: if after three years of marriage, the spouse does not fully show that he is a real man, the wife may on her own or with the her parents help to divorce him, even if the husband is against it”¹⁷.

Case Studies in Bessarabia in the 19th century.

In the early nineteenth century in Bessarabia, the civil trials were based on local norms of law and custom. After the annexation of Bessarabia to Russia, the legislation of the empire was also introduced on this territory. While the general issues related to family relationships were included in *Kormchea Kniga* (Кормчая Книга), *Sobornoe Ulojenie* (Соборное Уложение), and *The decrees of the King, of the Council, and of the Senate*, some family problems as divorce issue were within the Church's jurisdiction¹⁸. In the document no. 22 038 of February 28, 1806 issued by the Russian Synod it is mentioned the divorce caused by an inability to meet

¹³ *Новые Заповеди Иустиниана царя* [Codex Justinianus], Гл. 44, гр.43, гл.4, л.42 об. Apud А. Загоровский, *О разводе...*

¹⁴ Главицны Леона царя и Константина [The laws of Leo and Constantine], Гл.49, зачаток 2-ой, гл.9, л.123 на об. Apud А. Загоровский, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ А. Загоровский, *О разводе*, с.140.

¹⁶ М.К. Цатурова, *Прекращение брака по русскому семейному праву XVIII в.* [Termination of marriage in the Russian family law of the 18th century], In: Вестник Московского университета. Сер.11, Право, 1990, 5, р. 59-65; М. К. Цатурова, *Три века русского развода. XVI - XVIII века* [Three Centuries of Russian divorce. 16 - 18 centuries], Москва, 2011.

¹⁷ *Закон Градский*, Гл. 48 гр. 11, гл.2, л.71 на об. Apud А. Загоровский, *О разводе*.

¹⁸ *Кормчая, напечатанная с оригинала патриарха Иосифа* [Rudder, printed from the original of the Patriarch Joseph], Москва 1912; Алексей Степанович Павлов, *50-я глава Кормчей книги, как исторический и практический источник русского брачного права* [The 50th chapter of the Rudder - historical and practical source of Russian marriage law], Москва, 1887; *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire], 1832 г. Т. 7, СПб., 1833.

marital obligations arising from birth or other motifs acquired during life: „о разлучение от супружества за неспособность к супружескому сожитию или от природы или от других случившихся в течении времени причин „¹⁹; document no. 29728 of January 8, 1824 provides cause for divorce the impotence of the husband „о разводе по причине оскотления мужа”²⁰. The given cause is specified in *Hexabibulul* of Armenopulos, *Кормчая книга* and other laws adopted by Synod²¹.

It is well known that according to church canons, the divorce can be requested only by the innocent. According to Armenopulos, Title 12, there were general reasons for divorce, reasons for husband's divorce at the expense of the wife and vice versa. The encoder mentions that he listed only those „which deserve to be taken into account and ... to recognize those specifically, which could dissolve a marriage without penalty”²². The impotence of the husband is in the foreground, „when a man cannot copulate with his woman, and in the past three years he has been emasculate to copulate with his woman”. In this case, both wife and her parents can dissolve the marriage, even without her husband's consent. The man is forced to give back to the woman the entire dowry, if he took it, „and the gift before the wedding remains in his possession, so he would not receive any prejudice”²³.

The legal methods of demonstrating the impotence were: personal confess of the defendant, plaintiff's or defendant's oath; medical examination of the virginity, testimonies of wife's mother or father and even testimonies of neighbours. In order to prove the veracity of the motif a medical expertise was needed. Sometimes there was no need to do a medical examination because the defendant was admitting the fact²⁴. The consequences were complicated only for the incapable husband being that he did not have the right to remarry.

To indicate the case of the impotence the documents use the terms „without limb s power” and „is related”. Thus at 23 March 1813 Vasile Coșcodan from village Condrătești submitted a complaint about the examination of the case with his wife Mary, daughter of Dumitru Bosiioc, from the same village cannot be together as “without limb s power”, which is why his wife left the parents²⁵. Following a

¹⁹ *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire], Собрание Первое. Том XXIX. 1806 — 1807 гг., СПб., 1830

²⁰ *Полное собрание законов Российской империи* [Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire], Собрание Первое. Том XXXIX. 1824 г. СПб., 1830

²¹ *Кормчая, Manualul legilor sau așa numitele cele șase cărți adunat de pretutindenii și prescurtat de vrednicul de cinstire păstrătorul de legi și judecător în Salonic Constantin Harmenopulos* [The manual of laws or so-called six books everywhere gathered and short to honor worthy guardian of law and a judge in Thessaloniki Constantin Harmenopulos], tr. de Ioan Peretz, București, 1921.

²² *Manualul legilor* [The manual of laws...], titlul XII.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ В.И. Добровольский, *Брак и развод, Очерки по русскому брачному праву*, Ст-Пб, 1903, с.138-139.

²⁵ ANRM [National Archives of the Republic of Moldova], F. 205, inv. 1, d. 330, f. 1.

complaint was given „a book with determination” to live together three years with no right to divorce. At that time it was thought that impotence can be treated. And in case of family Anastasia and Toader Rusu indicated that her husband would be finding sick, „without limbs power”, indicating to live two years with her husband and if it will not recover, then ask for divorce²⁶.

Failure maintenance of sexual relations causes aggression of impotent man and led to implementation of violence verbal and physical. Such is the case with Ecatherine and Samson. On 20th of August 1813, Ecatherine's mother, Ileana, widow from Gura Galbenă addressed a complaint to Dicastery, that his son in law failures to perform marital obligations, beating his wife and mother-in-law. Dicastery ordered to investigate the case. The results of investigation claimed that Samson hit them with a stick. Although it was found that Catherine was continually beaten, the authorities asked the women to await his treatment and that will not heal, to allow second marriage²⁷.

A divorce case, which was based not only on the motif of impotence, but also on an indecent assault on his wife's honour, accompanied by tyrannical beatings was that of Fedora and Andrei Cuciuc. Fedora, resident of Mimoreni village, Orhei district, married Andrei Cuciuc, resident of Buiucani village in 1814²⁸. Few months after the marriage, she filed a complaint accusing her husband of impotency. In their first night of marriage he attempted to dishonour her by giving her for defilement to a relative Nanie Iosef, a merciless beating, not supporting her and he was also feeble-minded. Unable to endure such an inhuman behaviour, Fedora told relatives and addressed to the court²⁹. Based on this case a survey was initiated after which the following was established: 1. Andrei and Fedora were wed on January 24, 1814 by the Pastor Vasile with the will and the consent of both parties, 2. Andrei confirmed that he was impotent and confessed that all Fedora's words, referable to her defilement, were actually true. Nanie denied his fault. Following some research it was proved that Andrei and Gafița, Nanie's wife, were cousins, their mothers Meliana and Maria being sisters, so Nanie would be brother-in-law from a cousin. 3. It turned out that Andrei was kind of feeble-minded and did not support his wife, but tyrannized and beat her³⁰.

However, not always the authorities would take into consideration the above-discussed motif. Thus, on May 21, 1827 the inhabitant of Bender town, Muntean addressed to the Metropolitan with the request to dissolve her marriage³¹. The petitioner reported that six years ago she got married legally to Ștefan Muntean, but during her married life she had no physical contact with her husband, fact which

²⁶ ANRM, F. 205, inv. 1, d. 325.

²⁷ ANRM, F. 205, inv. 1, d. 329.

²⁸ ANRM, F.205, i.1, d.681, f1-1v

²⁹ ANRM, F.205, i.1, d.681, f.5-9.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ ANRM, F.205, i.1, d.5675, f.1-1v.

could be demonstrated. Being young and not wishing to lead a debauched life, she requested to allow the divorce in order to remarry.³² The resolution of this case was negative³³. As shown, not always even a demonstrated case of impotence ended up with divorce. The above case is illustrative, the woman being forced to continue to live together with her husband.

The punishment for impotence

The person guilty of impotence had no right to remarry. In case of Fedora and Andrew, the Dicasterial Decision of 30 December 1814 was as follows: 1. The divorce between Fedora and Andrew was permitted on the following grounds - impotence, attempt on his wife's honour, tyrannical beatings. 2. Since Fedora was not guilty in adultery, but was tainted by Nanie with Andrei's permission, would not be subject to epithemy and was permitted to remarry. 3. Andrei was deprived for life of the right to remarry. 4. The case of attempt on Fedora's honour, committed by Nanie in collusion with Andrei, to be examined by the Civil Government³⁴. The divorce case was resolved in favour of the woman, all her accusations being proved. In cases of Anastasia and Toader Rusu, and Ecatherine and Samson the Dicasteria recommended that the spouses to live together three years since their wedding day.

Conclusions

Following the research and analysis of the files, we can conclude that in Bessarabia in the first half of the nineteenth century the women or their kinsfolk addressed the complaints by the ecclesiastical authorities. Although impotence may serve as grounds for divorce, the ecclesiastical authorities did everything possible to keep the family, looking for false reason and that impotence can be treated to prevent the divorce. The woman was forced to live with her husband at least three years after wedding. Simultaneously, women were particularly affected. Although in some cases, it was found that the impotent husband beat his wife, the spouses were not allowed to divorce.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *ANRM*, F.205, i.1, d.5675, f. 2.

³⁴ *ANRM*, F.205, i.1, d.681, f.9.

**CONSIDERATIONS SUR L'ALIMENTATION DES HABITANTS
DES PRINCIPAUTES ROUMAINES DANS LA VISION
DES CONSULS ET DES VOYAGEURS FRANÇAIS
DE LA PERIODE D'AVANT 1848**

**CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT THE ALIMENTATION
OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE PRE-1848
ROMANIAN PRINCIPALITIES IN THE VIEW
OF FRENCH CONSULS AND TRAVELERS**

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Rezumat: Influența franceză în Principatele Române nu s-a exercitat numai prin secretari și preceptori francezi. Voiajorii și consulii care au intrat în contact cu românii și cu spațiul locuit de ei în perioada care a precedat revoluția de la 1848, au remarcat diferențele stridente existente între alimentația oamenilor din popor și a boierilor. Oaspeții francezi au observat, de asemenea, influențe otomane în domeniul culinar în spațiul valah și moldovean: la curțile boierești au fost introduse pe filieră greacă în meniuri bucate turcești. Spre jumătatea secolului al XIX-lea, bucătăria din Principate va înregistra și influențe occidentale, în special franceze. La mesele boierești se consumau vinuri autohtone, vinuri scumpe aduse din apusul Europei (Madeira, franțuzești), dar și băuturi mai tari precum rachiu sau rom. Țăranii se hrăneau cu produse obținute cel mai adesea în gospodăria proprie.

Abstract: The French influence in the Romanian Principalities was not exercised only by French secretaries and tutors. The travelers and consuls, who came into contact with the Romanians and their living space in the period before the revolution of 1848, noted the striking differences between average people's and boyar's food. French guests also observed Turkish influences in the area of Wallachian and Moldavian cuisine: in the menus from the aristocratic courts were introduced by Greek chain Turkish foods. Towards the middle of the nineteenth century, the cuisine from the Principalities will also record Western influences, particularly French. At the boyar meals, they consumed local wines, but also expensive wines brought from Western Europe (Madeira, French), and stronger drinks such as brandy or rum. Peasants subsisted on products produced most often in their household.

Résumé: L'influence française ne s'exerça dans les Principautés Roumaines seulement à l'intermédiaire des secrétaires et des précepteurs français. Les voyageurs et les consuls qui entrèrent en contact avec les Roumains et avec l'espace habité par ceux-ci durant la période qui précéda la révolution de 1848, remarquèrent les différences stridentes entre l'alimentation des gens simples et celle des boyards. Les visiteurs français observèrent, aussi, l'influence

ottomane dans le domaine culinaire dans l'espace valaque et moldave: aux cours de boyards, on introduisit dans le menu par la filière grecque des plats turcs. Vers la moitié du XIX-ème, la cuisine des Principautés enregistra, aussi, des influences occidentales, spécialement françaises. Les boyards consommaient au repas des vins autochtones, des vins chers apportés de l'ouest de l'Europe (Madeira, français), mais aussi des boissons plus fortes, comme l'eau de vie ou le rhum. Les paysans se nourrissaient avec des produits obtenus le plus souvent dans leurs propres fermes.

Keywords: Romanian Principalities, France, Ottoman influence, food, average peoples, boyars, French travellers and consuls, French influence.

L'influence française ne s'exerça dans les Principautés Roumaines seulement à l'intermédiaire des secrétaires et des précepteurs français. La Roche signalait l'arrivée à Iași d'un cuisinier français. Elle écrivait à un correspondant que le cuisinier nouveau arrivé "s'occupait à organiser la cuisine selon ses propres idées". Deux décennies plus tard, un certain Louis Etienne Meynard était le cuisinier de Constantin Ipsilanti, le prince régnant de la Valachie¹.

On retrouve des informations à Jean-Louis Carra, au paragraphe traitant l'agriculture, l'économie rurale, le commerce et les arts de *Dissertation géographique historique et politique sur la Moldavie et la Valachie*, sur les vins moldaves et valaques: ceux-ci étaient, conformément au voyageur français, "faibles, aqueux", ayant un "goût assez agréable et une bonne qualité". De la Moldavie, il mentionnait ceux d'Odobești, et de la Valachie, ceux de "Pietra"². De plus, Carra mentionnait, aussi, l'abondance de

¹ Hurmuzaki, *Documente privitoare la istoria românilor* [Documents concernant l'histoire des Roumains], Supliment I, Volume II, 1781-1814, *Documente culese din Arhivele Ministeriului Afacerilor Străine din Paris de A. I. Odobescu* [Documents cueillis des Archives du Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Paris par A. I. Odobescu], București, 1885, p. 7; Dan Berindei, „Ideile franceze” în secolul al XVIII-lea și Principatele Române [“Les idées françaises” au XVIII-ème siècle et les Principautés Roumaines], dans le volume *Românii și Europa în perioadele premodernă și modernă* [Les Roumains et l'Europe dans les périodes prémoderne et moderne], București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1997, p. 89; Idem, *Constitution de la frontière spirituelle française dans les Pays Roumains*, en “Revue Roumaine d'Histoire”, XXXV, 1-2, Bucarest, 1996, p. 4; Paul Cornea, *Originile romantismului românesc. Spiritul public, mișcarea ideilor și literatura între 1780-1840* [Les origines du romantisme roumain. L'esprit public, le mouvement des idées et la littérature entre 1780-1840], București, Editura Minerva, 1972, p. 48; Claudiu Neagoe, *Din vremea lui Alexandru Vodă Ipsilanti (1774-1782)* [De l'époque de Alexandru Vodă Ipsilanti (1774-1782)], dans le volume *Modele culturale și realități cotidiene în societatea românească (secolele XV-XIX)* [Modèles culturels et réalités quotidiennes dans la société roumaine (les XV-ème – XIX-ème siècles)], (coordonnateur Claudiu Neagoe), Universitatea București, Editura Ars Docendi, 2009, p. 205.

² Probablement Pitești, où les vignes étaient célèbres ou Piatra-Olt (probablement une confusion de région avec Drăgășani). *Călători străini despre Țările Române* [Voyageurs étrangers sur les Pays Roumains], vol. X, la I-ère partie, (volume soignée par Maria Holban, Maria M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu), București, Editura Academiei Române,

fruits: des melons, des pastèques, des prunes, des pêches, des abricots, dont, pourtant, il ne disait pas s'ils étaient consommés par les indigènes ou destinés à l'exportation. Lorsqu'il mentionna l'existence des bergeries, Carra n'oublia pas à noter que du lait des moutons, on faisait "du beurre de mauvaise qualité" et du fromage aussi "mauvais". Il remarqua la foule d'abeilles existant dans la Principauté de la Moldavie, qui produisaient du miel presque blanc. Carra affirmait que le miel respectif prenait la route de Constantinople; malheureusement, on n'a aucune mention dans son mémoire sur sa consommation dans la Principauté, chose qu'on peut seulement soupçonner³.

Le comte d'Antraigues consigna dans son journal de voyage la nuit passée au manoir d'un boyard d'Epureni, la maison duquel était entourée par un jardin immense, où il découvrit avec surprise "des buissons entiers de roses", dont on préparait de la confiture, très appréciée à Iași. Le voyageur français écrivait que les boyards habitaient à planter ces buissons-là pour leurs fleurs, qu'ils utilisaient "différemment" où qu'ils offraient à leurs amis⁴.

Le comte Alexandre d'Hauterive consignait que le pain de la Valachie était de deux sortes. Les familles de paysans, composées de deux à dix membres (le père, la mère et parfois même huit enfants), ainsi que les oiseaux et les animaux vivant aux alentours de leurs maisons en mangeaient. Le premier type de pain était cuit dans le four, pendant que le second était bouilli. Le voyageur français a décrit la manière même de préparer celui-ci: dans un chaudron où bouillait l'eau, on mettait de la farine de maïs; on y mêlait jusqu'à l'évaporation de l'eau. "La pâte" ainsi obtenue prenait la forme du chaudron; les Roumains habitaient la manger chaude et le visiteur français assurait que "sans avoir l'appétit d'un Roumain", celle-ci était même bonne. Il semble que d'Hauterive faisait référence en réalité à la polenta⁵. Le voyageur français mentionnait,

2000, p. 246; Dan A. Lăzărescu, *Imaginea României prin călători* [L'image de la Roumanie par voyageurs], vol. I, 1716-1789, București, Editura Sport-Turism, 1985, p. 115, 137; Marin Sâmbrian-Toma, *Obiceiuri culinare în Țara Românească în secolele XVI-XIX* [Coutumes culinaires dans la Valachie les XVI-ème – XIX-ème siècles], dans le volume *Modele culturale și realități cotidiene în societatea românească (secolele XV-XIX)* [Modèles culturels et réalités quotidiennes dans la société roumaine (les XV-ème – XIX-ème siècles)], (coordonnateur Claudiu Neagoe), Universitatea București, Editura Ars Docendi, 2009, p. 165.

³ *Călători străini...* [La I-ère partie], vol. X, p. 246-247.

⁴ *Ce mélange de sauvagerie et de culture est séduisant*, tirait la conclusion le compte français. *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 684-685; Gabriel Leancă, *Cultură politică și univers cultural în relațiile călătorilor francezi prin spațiul românesc (1774-1790)* [Culture politique et univers culturel dans les relations des voyageurs français par l'espace roumain (1774-1790)], dans le volume *Cultură politică și politici culturale în România modernă* [Culture politique et politiques culturelles dans la Roumanie moderne], (recueils d'études édité par Alexandru Zub et Adrian Cioflâncă à l'occasion du XX-ème Congrès International d'Etudes Historiques Sydney 2005), Iași, Editura Universității „Alexandru Ioan Cuza”, 2005, p. 109; Ștefan Lemny, *Sensibilitate și istorie în secolul XVIII românesc* [Sensibilité et histoire au XVIII-ème siècle roumain], București, Editura Meridiane, 1990, p. 64; N. Munteanu-

aussi, que le long du chemin, il aurait offert à la belle et spirituelle princesse Zamfira, la femme du prince régnant, une coupe de vin en échange d'une moitié de poulet à la broche⁶. Le préfet de Focșani servit les voyageurs avec du pain blanc et du rôti de poule, dont d'Hauterive fut extrêmement surpris, mais aussi reconnaissant. En échange, le préfet de Tecuci, quoique administrateur de trois villes, riche et infatué, les reçut avec indifférence et les envoya seulement les restes d'un dîner assez mal⁷.

A l'occasion de l'audience à la cour d'Alexandru Mavrocordat Firaris, Alexandre d'Hauterive notait, aussi, le cadeau reçu par la princesse Zamfira de l'officier von Seidlitz: un service de café et le portrait du roi de Prusse. Comme le voyageur français considérait tous les deux inutiles et de mal goût, s'offrit à remplacer le service de café avec des tasses de porcelaine français. Au-delà de l'orgueil du voyageur français, provenant d'un autre monde, plus raffiné, l'épisode qu'on vient de mentionner témoigne sur l'habitude de consommer du café à la cour⁸.

Sur la consommation du café en grandes quantités aux cours de boyards de Iași, où il allait souvent, écrivait, aussi, le prince Charles-Joseph de Ligne dans une lettre de 1-er décembre 1788, adressée au comte de Ségur, l'ambassadeur de la Cour française à Sankt Petersburg. Le voyageur français mentionnait que toujours à ces endroits-là, il mangea plusieurs fois de la confiture de roses⁹.

Entrant en Moldavie par un point douanier situé à deux lieux de Tchernovtsy et arrivant à Herța, Armand-Emmanuel du Plessis, duc de Richelieu consignait en ses mémoires de voyage que chaque foire ou village avait "un chef nommé capitaine-préfet"; celui de Herța, où on s'arrêta, était extrêmement hospitalier¹⁰; celui-ci servit le voyageur français et ses compagnons avec *pilaf*, "un plat oriental, avec du riz et de la poule", que celui-ci trouva très goûteux; le duc de Richelieu écrivait que son hôte "se préoccupa à nous offrir un dîner délicieux, ainsi qu'une narguilé et du tabac de qualité excellente", qui était "la première nécessité" dans cette province¹¹. A Dorohoi, un homme, grec de Salonique, arrivé dans le pays jadis à la suite de quelque prince phanariote, lui offrit du lait et l'invita "avec bienveillance dans sa maison", où le voyageur français et ses

Breastă, „Moldova la 1787” în *viziunea contelui d'Hauterive* [“La Moldavie en 1787” dans la vision du comte d'Hauterive], en “Revista de istorie”, tome 41, no. 7, 1988, p. 711.

⁶ Dan A. Lăzărescu, *op. cit.*, p. 305.

⁷ N. Munteanu-Breastă, *op. cit.*, p. 712.

⁸ *Călători străini...* [La I-ère partie], vol. X, , p. 690.

⁹ “Un tel apporte une tasse de café, une telle un verre d'eau et cela, se répète le même jour, chez vingt boyards, où on fait des visites. Refuser ces signes d'honneur signifierai manquer de politesse”. *Călători străini despre Țările Române* [Voyageurs étrangers sur les Principautés Roumaines], vol. X, la a II-ème partie, (volume soignée par Maria Holban, Maria M. Alexandrescu-Dersca Bulgaru, Paul Cernovodeanu), București, Editura Academiei Române, 2001, p. 915.

¹⁰ Sur son hôte de Herța et la manière dans laquelle ils furent reçus, le duc de Richelieu notait que “chez nous, dans nos pays civilisés, on peut rencontrer peu d'hommes qui pratiquent l'hospitalité d'une manière plus désintéressé”. *Ibid.*, p. 924; Andrei Pippidi, *Călătoriile ducelui de Richelieu prin Moldova* [Les voyages du duc de Richelieu par la Moldavie], en “Revista de istorie”, tome 41, no. 7, 1988, p. 685.

¹¹ *Călători străini...*, vol. X, la II-a-ème partie, p. 924; Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

compagnons mangèrent les aliments qu'ils portaient avec eux¹². Le duc de Richelieu consignait, aussi, que les plats, mais aussi "leur inclination vers le tabac et le café" étaient identiques pour les Moldaves, ainsi que pour les Valaques¹³.

Le général de Langeron écrivait que le dîner des gens du peuple, que ceux-ci habitaient à consommer après une journée de travail et avant le coucher, était "frugal" et que celui-ci se composait surtout du lait, de la crème, du maïs frit ou cuit au four¹⁴.

Le marquis de Salaberry racontait dans son journal de voyage par la Valachie, la manière dans laquelle il fut obligé, ensemble à ses compagnons, à préparer le repas: hébergés dans la cabane basse et pleine de fumée d'une pauvre femme, ils durent faire preuve d'ingéniosité; ils accrochèrent le chaudron des poutres, au-dessus le foyer improvisé dans un trou du plancher, où brulaient quatre buches et ils firent bouillir de cette manière "le riz et les oiseaux". Le voyageur français ne spécifia pas si ce plat était autochtone ou pas, s'ils l'adoptèrent, comme ils étaient obligés à "renoncer aux choses superflues de la vie" en leur qualité de voyageurs par la Valachie¹⁵.

A Craiova, invité à prendre le repas au boyard Barbu Știrbei, le marquis de Salaberry constata que son hôte était "un grand buveur", que les femmes mangeaient assises, les pieds au-dessous, mais aussi que les plats n'étaient "plus goûteux que ceux des Spartiates"¹⁶.

Le vice-consul français d'Iași, Joseph Parant notait dans son mémoire dédié à l'état de la Moldavie en 1798, qu'on pourrait acheter pour la marine française le pastrami qu'on préparait à Galați¹⁷.

Dans son journal de voyage de Constantinople à Paris, Louis Allier de Hauteroche mentionnait le long du chemin à travers la Valachie, entre autres choses, le repas servi à Curtea de Argeș: "du pain très blanc, du vin goûteux et peu alcoolisé"¹⁸.

Le sixième paragraphe du *Rapport* dédié à la situation de la Valachie et de la Moldavie en 1806, le consul français d'Iași, Reinhard mentionnait que dans les Principautés on faisait "peu du vin" qu'on pouvait garder. Du maïs, on faisait de la polenta, "une sorte de bouillon", constituant la nourriture principale des paysans. "Le repas des boyards" se composait du riz, de la viande de vache et surtout de mouton, du café turc et des confitures¹⁹.

Dans une lettre adressée de București, le 17 juillet 1806, à sa mère, Sophie Reimar, Madame Reinhard rappelait la butée du village Șuici, au manoir d'un boyard. Elle mentionna, aussi, l'indiscrétion de ses hôtes, qui les suivirent pendant

¹² *Călători străini...*, vol. X, la II-ème partie, p. 925; Andrei Pippidi, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

¹³ *Călători străini...*, vol. X, la II-a-ème partie, p. 928.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 940.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1007.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1008.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1316.

¹⁸ *Călători străini despre Țările Române în secolul al XIX-lea* [Les voyageurs étrangers sur les Pays Roumains au XIX-ème siècle], Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), (volume soigné par Georgeta Filitti, Beatrice Marinescu, Șerban Rădulescu-Zoner, Marian Stroia), București, Editura Academiei Române, 2004, p. 195.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 273; Marin Sâmbrian-Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

qu'ils servirent le déjeuner préparé "à la mode européenne"²⁰, dans une remise de roseaux et feuilles tressées. Christine Reinhard relata, aussi, un épisode qui devrait témoigner sur l'ignorance de la famille du boyard et de ses gens: ceux-ci furent surpris par les dimensions des vases de toilette qu'ils prirent pour des tasses de café²¹ et dans la possession desquels leur vieille servante entra seulement à l'aide des escortes. A l'occasion de l'audience au palais princier, Madame Reinhard décrit de manière épistolaire à sa mère le repas y servi, qui lui sembla extrêmement fatigant à cause de la chaleur. Reinhard notait qu'on servit ce repas vers le midi, qu'on mit la table "dans notre présence, dans la salle où nous étions assis". Les hommes étaient assis d'une partie de la table, pendant que les femmes se trouvaient de l'autre. Charles Reinhard prit place à côté du prince régnant, pendant que sa femme a été assise entre la princesse et une tante de celle-ci, avec laquelle elle parla en italien²².

Dans une nouvelle dépêche datée 30 juillet 1806 et envoyé à sa mère de Iași, Christine Reinhard soulignait que sa famille essaya s'adapter aux coutumes locales: après le repas de 12 heures, ils allaient à la banlieue, la place de rencontre de la noblesse de la capitale moldave²³. Le 15 août, Christine Reinhard écrivait à sa mère toujours de Iași, entre autres, que la nourriture habituelle du peuple était très pauvre, composée exclusivement d'"ail, des melons, des fruits pas encore mûres", du pain, qui, assez souvent, menaient à l'apparition de la forte fièvre et d'autres maladies²⁴.

Le compte de Guillemot appréciait au paragraphe dédié à l'agriculture de son mémoire décrivant la situation des deux Principautés, que les habitants mangeaient du pain de blé ou de millet. Mais la majorité de la population se nourrissait "avec une espèce de maïs nommée *cucuruz*"²⁵. Le voyageur français Alexandre Nicolas Léonard Charles Marie de Moriollles, qui accompagnait le compte polonais Branicki dans son voyage à travers la Moldavie de l'année 1809, mentionnait dans son journal de voyage le festin offert à leur honneur par un boyard de Râmnic. Comme ils ne réussirent ni dans cette ville-là à rencontrer le feld-maréchal Prozorovski, le commandant des troupes d'occupation russes, parti à assiéger Brăila, ils furent invités "dans la maison du plus important boyard du lieu"²⁶. Le feld-maréchal lui-même se préoccupa de cet honneur. Moriollles écrivait que le vieux comte Branicki ne put pas échapper du dîner qu'on lui prépara, consistant dans une "quantité immense de plats

²⁰ *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 285; N. Iorga, *Istoria românilor prin călători* [L'histoire des Roumains par voyageurs], (édition soignée, étude introductive et notes par Adrian Anghelescu), București, Editura Eminescu, 1981, p. 446.

²¹ *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 285.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 288; George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri* [Du Bucarest d'hier], vol. I, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1990, p. 127.

²³ *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 291.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

²⁶ Moriollles fut surpris à entendre son hôte parlant le français "très facilement, sans le moindre accent, de manière qu'on pouvait le prendre comme étranger". Le boyard fut éduqué à Vienne par un précepteur émigré de France. "L'élève prouva que son instituteur fut un brave homme et je n'ai pas été surpris qu'il parlait si correctement notre langue". *Ibidem*, p. 475.

préparés selon la mode turque”: du *pilaf*, de la viande du mouton, du ragoût avec des épices, du poulet. Tous ces plats flottaient en “graisse de mouton”, qui remplaçait en ces parages-là le beurre et l’huile. Ensuite, ont suivi à la table “des conserves, de biscuits avec du miel, toutes sortes de friandises”. Malgré l’abondance des plats, dont certains semblèrent à Moriollles même goûteux, le voyageur français considérait qu’on devait être habitué avec la cuisine moldave “pour ne pas manquer une telle manière de cuisinier”. Il témoignait qu’il aurait entendu le comte Branicki, un gourmand passionné, commandant à son cuisinier dans la langue polonaise, pour ne pas être compris par son hôte, “un souper bon pour le soir”. Il semble que la disposition de son compagnon de voyage empêcha Moriollles à manger trop, préférant à goûter “de tous les plats pour sa culture de voyageur”. Le café lui sembla “parfait, même délicieux”²⁷. Originaire de Champagne, Moriollles n’aima pas les vins moldaves: ceux rouges lui semblèrent impossible à boire parce les Moldaves habitaient les mêler dès l’époque de leur fermentation avec de l’absinthe, pendant que ceux blancs étaient “acides et désagréables”. De plus, on ne pouvait pas les garder, ils n’étaient pas alcoolisés et on ne pouvait pas les distiller²⁸.

Le voyageur français constata que les paysans consommaient des aliments de faible qualité. Le principal plat était en maïs réduit en miettes et en farine de sarrasin. Le pain était rare et se trouvait seulement dans les villes, peut être à cause du nombre réduit de moulins d’eau. Comme les eaux étaient soit “des flots faibles”, soit des “torrents dévastateurs”, il était “presque impossible à y établir des moulins”. A la campagne, on utilisait des “moulins à poivre de main”, et dans les villes – des moulins à vent²⁹. Logé dans la maison d’un boyard de București, aux ordres du caïmacam Gheorghe Arghiropol, le voyageur français par la Valachie de l’année 1813, Auguste Marie Blathasard Charles Pelettier, comte de Lagarde, notait que vers les quatre heures de l’après-midi, on lui servit “un dîner français”, qu’il “honora comme un pèlerin affamé”³⁰.

Dans une lettre de mars 1813 adressé à son ami, Jules Griffith, le comte de Lagarde décrit comment se déploya le dîner de la maison du boyard Grigore Brâncoveanu (1764-1832), grand trésorier et grand ban, descendant du prince régnant Constantin Brâncoveanu, où on l’invita. Avant de s’asseoir à la table, les serfs apportèrent des cuvettes en argent doré avec de l’eau, dans lesquels les invités et les hôtes lavèrent leurs mains “avec des savons de toutes sortes”³¹; ensuite, ils se sont assis

²⁷ Le long de son séjour dans la maison du boyard de Râmnic, celui-ci lui envoya chaque jour du café et même il l’aurait appris le préparer selon la mode turque. Ibidem, p. 475; N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

²⁸ *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 477.

²⁹ Ibidem, p. 477; Marian Stroia, *Aspecte ale societății românești în viziunea călătorilor străini (1774-1821)* [Des aspects de la société roumaine dans la vision des voyageurs français (1774-1821)], en “Revista de Istorie”, tome 38, no. 5, 1985, p. 452.

³⁰ *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 563; N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 454.

³¹ *Istoria românilor* [L’histoire des Roumains], vol. VI, *Românii între Europa clasică și Europa luminilor (1711-1821)* [Les Roumains entre l’Europe classique et l’Europe des

à la table “selon les indications de leur hôte”. La majorité de plats étaient d’origine turque, des autres – allemands, plusieurs roumains et russes, “mais en si grande quantité qu’ils prouvaient l’opulence, ainsi que le manque de goût”. Conformément à la coutume, “chacun introduit la main dans l’assiette, ce qui est plutôt cordial que propre”; quoiqu’il eut certaines réticences, le comte de Lagarde témoigna qu’il procéda de la même manière que le reste des convives de peur à ne pas rester affamé. Au dessert³², on apporta des vins de l’Archipel grec, du *mied* vieux de 20 ans, du vin de Tokay. “Après quatre heures de telle séance gastronomique”, les convives lavèrent de nouveau leurs mains, leurs bouches et leurs barbes, se parfumèrent et passèrent dans le salon, où on servit des confitures, des cafés et de la glace³³.

A son départ de la Valachie, le comte de Lagarde accompagna le boyard Constantin Dudescu (1760-1828)³⁴, qui allait à Baden et avec lequel il voyagera jusqu’à Vienne. A Pitești, ils ont été logés chez un boyard roumain “honnête”. Au dîner, le voyageur français eut l’occasion de goûter de la polenta au lait. Il s’agissait d’un aliment consommé fréquemment par les gens du peuple, qui rappelait à Lagarde de la polenta italienne³⁵. Le capitaine Thomassin mentionna en 1814, dans le journal dédié à son voyage par la Valachie, que les habitants préparaient leur nourriture du maïs. Les vins valaques étaient de mauvaise qualité et “en petite quantité”³⁶.

Le secrétaire de langue française du prince régnant Ion Gheorghe Caragea, François Recordon mentionnait dans ses ouvrages dédiés au temps passé dans la Valachie “la frugalité et la modération” qui caractérisaient les Roumains, raison pour laquelle plusieurs réussissaient à atteindre “une âge avancée”. Ils mangeaient d’habitude deux fois par jour. Le maïs constituait leur principale nourriture; les paysans valaques préparaient de farine de maïs “une bouillie très consistante ou plutôt une sorte de pain qu’ils nommaient *polenta*”. Recordon écrivait que ce plat était très goûteux lorsqu’il était frais. Le laitage, la viande de porc, l’oignon, les fruits complétaient l’alimentation des paysans. L’eau de vie était leur boisson préférée et il arrivait souvent qu’ils commettent des abus. Les habitants des villes buvaient, aussi, “une sorte de bière de millet très dense”, nommée *bragă* (boisson orientale faite avec du millet fermenté), qui lui sembla “dégoûtante à la première vue” et en même temps “peu agréable au goût”³⁷.

lumières (1711-1821)], (coordonnateurs: Paul Cernovodeanu, Nicolae Edroiu), București, Editura Enciclopedică, 2002, p. 135.

³² Au dessert, le boyard lui envoya les pépins d’une pomme que celui-ci mangea “comme la preuve d’une considération tout à fait particulière”. Probablement que le boyard voulut lui signaler quelque particularité de l’espèce respective; il ne s’agissait pas d’une attention bizarre pour l’invité français. *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 569; N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

³³ *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 569; George Potra, *Din Bucureștii de ieri* [Du Bucarest d’hier], vol. II, București, Editura Științifică și Enciclopedică, 1990, p. 202-203; N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

³⁴ *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 573.

³⁵ La nuit passée chez le boyard de Pitești rappelait au comte de Lagarde une autre, passée dans la maison d’un noble polonais. *Ibidem*.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 669; Marin Sâmbrian-Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

Dans un autre paragraphe dédié aux jeûnes religieux, Recordon notait que les gens ordinaires, ainsi que les clercs respectaient ceux-ci rigoureusement. Malgré cela, les boyards des villes “s’amendèrent” parce qu’ils considéraient difficile à remplacer “les plats délicieux” avec lesquels ils étaient habitués avec des “légumes bouillis en eau sans graisse ou par la nourriture commune du peuple ordinaire”³⁸.

Recordon notait que les boyards étaient habitués à manger deux fois par jour: le déjeuner et le dîner, ainsi que, parfois, un petit déjeuner composé d’une petite cuillère de confiture, un grand verre d’eau et une tasse de café, sans crème ou sucre, qu’ils savouraient lentement, pendant qu’ils fumaient. Le déjeuner, “l’heure duquel était établi seulement selon l’appétit”, était composé d’environ quinze – vingt plats. Comme ils ne mangeaient pas de tous, les boyards se contentaient seulement avec les plats les plus simples, que Recordon trouvait “très raffinés”, comme l’yaourt³⁹, la crème⁴⁰ et le *pilaf*⁴¹, qui étaient des “plats turcs”.

Pendant le jeûne, les boyards consommaient du poisson péché du Danube ou des autres rivières du pays. Le long des jeûnes précédant les Pâques ou le Noël, ils mangeaient des légumes bouillies en eau avec un peu du sel ou du sucre, des escargots, des écrevisses, des fruits séchés ou confiés.

Recordon consignait, aussi, qu’on donnait peu d’importance au dîner; certains en renonçaient totalement, pendant que des autres se contentaient “avec quelques plats seulement”. On servait le repas des boyards à l’époque où Recordon se trouvait encore dans la Principauté de la Valachie “presque à la mode européenne”⁴².

Quant aux Tsiganes, Recordon écrivait que ceux-ci consommaient “une nourriture ordinaire”. Les hommes fumaient et pendant l’hiver, autour du feu, ceux-ci, les femmes et les enfants respiraient la fumée de tabac⁴³.

Barthélémy Bacheville, voyageur français dans la Moldavie de l’année 1817, remarquait le manque des auberges dans la principauté. Il mentionnait, aussi, l’habitude des boyards moldaves de voyager comme faisaient les prêtres en France: ils logeaient aux manoirs de leurs confrères, auxquels ils annonçaient leurs visites

³⁸ Recordon était convaincu que l’alimentation pauvre causait des maladies, dont il mentionnait la forte fièvre, assez fréquente dans la capitale. *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 675; Marin Sâmbrîan-Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³⁹ On obtenait ce plat “tout en gardant le lait caillé jusqu’il devenait assez consistant”. *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 685; Marin Sâmbrîan-Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁴⁰ “La crème (le caimac) n’est pas autre chose qu’une crème obtenue après avoir refroidi le lait qu’on laissait bouillir lentement plus d’un jour”. Au-dessus du vase, notait le voyageur étranger, restait “quelque chose qui ressemblait avec le beurre et la crème et l’épaisseur de laquelle dépendait de la quantité de lait utilisé et de la période de l’ébullition”. *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 685; Marin Sâmbrîan-Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁴¹ D’habitude, on servait le pilaf à la fin de repas, avec yaourt et *şerbet*; il s’agissait d’un plat composé de riz ou du blé décortiqué qu’on avait bouilli dans l’eau et auquel on ajoutait une certaine quantité de beurre. *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 685; Marin Sâmbrîan-Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁴² *Călători străini...*, Nouvelle série, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 685; Marin Sâmbrîan-Toma, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁴³ *Călători străini...*, Serie nouă, vol. I (1801-1821), p. 671.

auparavant. Aux manoirs de boyards, on trouvait à profusion du pain, du vin et de la viande. Le voyageur français racontait même la manière de servir le repas à la cour des boyards: selon la mode polonaise, le valet présentait à chaque convive les plats. Bacheville était mécontent que le long du repas, il était déconsidéré par ce personnage-ci, qui avait l'habitude de le servir à peine après avoir donné à manger à tous les convives. Comme le précepteur français se lamenta au boyard Cănănu, celui-ci lui permit l'apostropher⁴⁴. Bacheville notait à la fin de son journal de voyage que les Tsiganes se nourrissaient "avec des racines et peu de maïs"⁴⁵. J.M. Lejeune, qui s'intitula "professeur de littérature et professeur particulier de Son Altesse le prince régnant de la Moldavie" Mihai Suțu mentionnait dans ses ouvrages la polenta, que les Moldaves accoutumaient à tailler avec le fil⁴⁶.

Vaillant fut impressionné par l'hospitalité des Roumains, les maisons desquels il fut reçu avec bienveillance et amitié; partout, on lui offrit du tabac, des confitures et la commodité d'un divan. A Câmpina, il fut l'invité d'une dame et de ses trois filles, qui lui offrirent "un immense verre de café à la crème"⁴⁷, à Telega le directeur des mines de sel le logea, pendant que le commandant de la garnison, qui le reçut "les bras ouverts", lui donna à manger. A Slănic, chez le directeur des mines de sel, il participa à un dîner "antique", où il mangea assis sur des divans et écoutant la musique des ménestriers⁴⁸. Pour ce dîner-là, Vaillant indiqua même le menu: on but "des vins fins de Buzău", de "l'eau de Borsec", "des petits pains blanches de București et caviar frais de Giurgiu", "des boulettes de hachis roulées dans des feuilles de choucroute, avec du riz et de la crème", "de l'asperge avec crème de bufflonne" et "du rôti de venaison avec des olives de Smyrne"⁴⁹. Au manoir du métayer Procopiu, quelque part dans le département de Prahova, on servit le voyageur étranger avec des poulets, de la viande d'agneau, des vins bons de la cave, du fromage frais et du lait⁵⁰.

Le diplomate français Alexandre Jean de Ribbeaupierre, émigrant français, établi en Russie et nommé ambassadeur du tsar à Constantinople, passa par București en janvier 1827. Son séjour dans la capitale occasionna des bals, des fêtes, des réceptions à la Cour princière de Grigore Ghica, où on servit "plusieurs plats et des confitures"⁵¹.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 725-726.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 727.

⁴⁶ N. Iorga, *op. cit.*, p. 485.

⁴⁷ J.A. Vaillant, *La Roumanie ou Histoire, Langue, Littérature, Orographie, Statistique des peuples de la langue d'or, Ardaliens, Valaques et Moldaves, résumés sous le nom de Romans*, vol. III, Paris, 1844, p. 243; Dan Berindei, *Mărturia lui J.A. Vaillant asupra societății românești prepașoptiste* [Le témoignage de J. A. Vaillant sur la société roumaine d'avant la révolution de 1848], dans le volume *Românii și Europa în perioadele premodernă și modernă* [Les Roumains et l'Europe dans les périodes prémoderne et moderne], București, Editura Enciclopedică, 1997, p. 132.

⁴⁸ J.A. Vaillant, *op. cit.*, p. 244; Dan Berindei, *Mărturia lui J.A. Vaillant...*, p. 132.

⁴⁹ J.A. Vaillant, *op. cit.*, p. 268; Dan Berindei, *Mărturia lui J.A. Vaillant...*, p. 132.

⁵⁰ J.A. Vaillant, *op. cit.*, p. 274-275; Dan Berindei, *Mărturia lui J.A. Vaillant...*, p. 132.

⁵¹ George Potra, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 129.

M. Cochelet décrit dans ses mémoires de voyage par la Valachie, en 1835, le repas du monastère Argeș, où il fut reçu avec de grands honneurs. Le déjeuner fut composé du riz, du bouilli de poule, des truites, qui lui semblèrent “extraordinaires”. Après le repas, le voyageur français se lava dans une cuvette en cuivre; ensuite, il alla visiter le monastère⁵².

Il mangea un “dîner exceptionnel”, servi de manière impeccable dans la maison du préfet de la ville de Pitești. Malgré les insistances du voyageur français, le préfet ne voulut pas s'asseoir à côté de lui le long du repas; la fille de celui-ci, qui connaissait assez bien la langue française, fit “l'office d'interprète”⁵³.

Arrivant à la cour d'Iași du prince régnant Mihail Sturdza, Cochelet mentionnait le déjeuner auquel on l'invitât et qu'on servit impeccablement “avec grande luxe, selon la mode européenne”⁵⁴.

Le maïs prédominait dans l'alimentation des gens du peuple, la polenta représentant presque leur unique nourriture. Les voyageurs français Raoul Perrin (1839) et Xavier Marmier (1846) remarquèrent les ressemblances de ce plat avec la polenta largement répandue en Italie⁵⁵. Xavier Marmier nota, entre autres, que chez les boyards où ils furent logés, ils eurent l'occasion de manger de la viande, aussi⁵⁶. Le long du chemin de Turnu Severin, Xavier Marmier logea dans la maison d'un marchand, mais aussi chez un boyard ou dans une hutte paysanne. Il passa de la polenta à un véritable festin interdit aux serfs des boyards, revenant à la fin, au maïs cuit. Le voyageur français remarquait que la nourriture pauvre de la majorité de la population se reflétait, aussi, sur la structure de la propriété foncière, sur laquelle se superposaient l'indolence et la paresse des habitants⁵⁷.

Le journaliste français Adolphe Joanne, voyageant par la Valachie en 1846, laissa dans ses mémoires, aussi, la description d'une visite dans un salon de București de l'année 1846: on recevait l'invité dans le salon où les boyards, allongés sur des divans, fumaient, les filles, retirées au coin de la chambre parlaient le français, et les dames élégantes discutaient les dernières nouvelles sur la mode. Vers les huit heures, cinq serfs apportèrent des bouilloires avec de l'eau de roses et essence d'aloès, avec laquelle ils lavèrent leurs mains. Autres cinq serfs apportèrent ensuite aux invités des

⁵² Simona Vărzaru, *Prin Țările Române. Călători străini în secolul al XIX-lea* [A travers les Pays Roumains. Voyageurs étrangers du XIX-ème siècle], anthologie, traduction, étude introductive et notes par Simona Vărzaru, București, Editura Sport-Turism, 1984, p. 54; Alex. Rally, *Le voyage de Cochelet dans les principautés roumaines (1834-5)*, en “Revue historique du sud-est européen”, VIII, no. 10-12, 1931, p. 278; Bogdan Popa, *Relatări de călătorie ca sursă pentru o istorie socială a alimentației în Țările Române (secolul al XIX-lea)* [Relations de voyage comme source pour une histoire sociale de l'alimentation dans les Pays Roumains (le XIX-ème siècle)], en “Studii și materiale de istorie modernă”, vol. XXII, 2009, p. 118-119.

⁵³ Simona Vărzaru, *op. cit.*, p. 54; Alex. Rally, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

⁵⁴ Simona Vărzaru, *op. cit.*, p. 56; Alex. Rally, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁵⁵ Bogdan Popa, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

essuie-mains en lin de Crimée, “de la meilleure qualité”, tissés avec fils d’or ou de soie. Il y avait des salons à București, comme celui de Madame D., où l’accueil des invités était “d’une grandeur royale”. La salle à manger était illuminée par “300 chandelles roses de Leopoldstadt”. Au dîner, il y avait 52 convives, assis autour de la table sur laquelle se trouvaient “des couverts en argent et des verres en cristal, qui semblaient autant de pierres précieuses et de diamants”. On servit la table “à la française, avec la seule différence qu’on commença avec de la salade et on finit avec un consommé”. Chez Madame D., on servait des produits de pâtisserie, semblables à ceux français, “des boulettes de hachis roulées dans des feuilles de choucroute, avec de la viande frite, des prunes enfumés au beurre, des œufs bouillis en vin, du brebis à la confiture, [...] de la salade avec poisson”. Tous les plats furent savoureux. Les vins de Chypre, de Metelin, de Naxos, de Tokay, de Bordeaux, la champagne et même le vin de Malaga abondaient. Joanne affirmait que ceux-ci “coulaient en vagues”. A la fin du repas, on apporta aux invités du “caviar noir et du caviar blanc, du fromage délicieusement préparé avec des œufs de poisson”. Les desserts très fins et très diversifiés provenaient des “cinq coins du monde”. Un valet se trouvait derrière chaque convive, sa mission étant celle de chasser les mouches, les moustiques ou d’autres insectes avec un éventail. Joanne soulignait que le cuisinier de Madame D. se surpassa à lui-même en préparant les plats respectifs⁵⁸.

On remarque les différences stridentes entre l’alimentation des gens simples et celle des boyards. La majorité des voyageurs remarquèrent l’imposition du maïs au lieu du millet, comme la principale céréale⁵⁹. Les paysans consommaient assez rarement du blé et de la viande, qui étaient réservés soit à l’exportation, soit aux repas des riches. Les paysans se nourrissaient avec des produits obtenus le plus souvent dans leurs propres fermes. Les jeûnes sévères du long de l’année étaient respectés strictement surtout par les paysans et pas toujours par les boyards. Le cas des premiers, on se demande s’il agissait d’un acte véritable de croyance ou plutôt d’une manière de s’adapter aux ressources limitées. Les boyards consommaient au repas des vins autochtones, mais aussi des vins chers apportés de l’ouest de l’Europe (Madeira, français), mais aussi de l’eau de vie ou du rhum. On remarque, aussi, l’influence ottomane dans l’espace valaque et moldave. Aux cours de boyards, on introduisit dans le menu par la filière grecque des plats turcs comme le café, les confitures, le *pilaf*, les yaourts. Vers la moitié du XIX-ème, la cuisine des Principautés enregistrera, aussi, des influences occidentales, spécialement françaises.

⁵⁸ Simona Vărzaru, *op. cit.*, p. 116-117.

⁵⁹ Neagu Djuvara mentionnait que le remplacement du millet avec le maïs était le signe des temps plus tranquilles. Le millet, qui devenait mûre plus rapidement, était plus indiqué pour une société menacée par des invasions fréquentes et qui pouvait, de cette manière, se faire des provisions plus facilement. Neagu Djuvara, *Între Orient și Occident. Țările române la începutul epocii moderne (1800-1848)* [Entre Orient et Occident. Les Pays roumains au début de l’époque moderne (1800-1848)], București, Editura Humanitas, 1995, p. 237-238; Bogdan Popa, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

Romanian-Bulgarian political-diplomatic relations¹

A research on the Romanian-Bulgarian relations, in general, on the political and diplomatic ones, in particular, was necessary because this subject was not a goal until this moment in the Romanian historiography; and in the Bulgarian one, very mobilized, they have operated in a hostile, nationalist, revisionist, thus unscientific manner, for over nine decades. The authoress motivates both situations in the Introduction to the 12 chapters of the book, chapters followed by Conclusions and Bibliography.

The lack of such research on behalf of the Romanian historians, as a result of some known political and ideological reasons, made the authoress get the data, the information and the assessments from studies and monographic works with different topics, these being to the point to greater or lesser extent. But Dr. Maria Costea's work substance had to be and is represented by the archival documents, researched upon in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, by the published documents, excerpts from the Romanian, Bulgarian, British, French, Italian and German archives. It is necessary to mention the absurd restrictions imposed by the Bulgarian authorities on the research in their archives.

Dr. Maria Costea investigates and analyses the current state of the research on the Romanian-Bulgarian relations issues between 1938 and 1940, the local contributions being relatively numerous through the published documents, the special studies, the memoirs of some contemporaries or actors of the events that took place in the studied period of time.

I think it is really professional the book's foray into the Bulgarian historiography, distorted by the revisionist obsessions, the basic component of the Bulgarian foreign policy after 1913. The Bulgarian policy was supported by the dictatorships and by the Western democracies, through the yielding and conciliation gestures, ultimately by abandoning the alliances and the territorial status quo.

The Bulgarian scientists' works, specifically on the Bulgarian-Romanian relations are well reviewed in this book. Despite all the evidence, primarily the content of the archive, they were placed on the path of the absurd revisionist theses. Typical examples: Antonina Kuzmanova, Ilcio Dimitrov, Dimitar Sirkov, Nicolai

¹ Costea Maria, *Relațiile politico-diplomatice româno-bulgare (1938-1940)* [Romanian-Bulgarian political-diplomatic relations (1938-1940)], Cluj-Napoca, Editura „Napoca Star”, 2010, 475 pages, ISBN 978-973-647-756-0

Ghencev. Their opinions and interpretations are subjected to Dr. Maria Costea's meritorious and necessary critical analysis. I agree with the conclusion of our authoress: „You cannot find 'absolute truths' in the statements of some historians no matter how famous they are, if you are not able to check their sources, to have access to their archival sources...”

Although the first chapter is entitled „Overview of the Romanian-Bulgarian relations on the eve of the Second World War”, the reader has to go over 50 pages in which we are given no less than 12 sub-themes, issues or events starting from the origin of the dispute between Bucharest and Sofia, from the two Balkan Wars and the entry into the Romanian Space of the Southern Dobrudja and ending with the events that were consumed in 1940, in a tragic atmosphere for the peoples of Europe. This issue, researched and analysed here, is important and complex, anchored in the political and diplomatic relations, but including a variety of issues on minorities, schools for them, places of worship, social and financial issues, communications, legal, property, terrorism, and subversive anti-Romanian actions. All these issues (some presented in with an avalanche of details) have their significance.

The successful offensive of the totalitarian states in their endeavour to liquidate the international order created after World War I encouraged and stimulated the revisionist neighbours of Romania, despite the efforts of Bucharest to keep or maintain normal relations with them, but without mentioning the frontiers of the country. The Anschluss (1938), for example, led to the increase of the Nazi influence in Hungary and Bulgaria, which determined the Romanian diplomacy to attempt the achievement of rapprochement of the states in South-eastern Europe, the idea of building a “Block of the neutrals” or a Balkan Block, the initiatives remaining without consequences. Also, in the book there is a sketch of the political-diplomatic frame in which the agreement was reached between the Balkan Entente and Bulgaria, on 31st July 1938 in Thessaloniki. This Agreement aims to build a nonaggression pact between the five Balkan states and to quit the military clauses of the Treaties of Neuilly and Lausanne, which did not mean that Bulgaria will join the Balkan Pact or give up its territorial claims.

The dissolution and liquidation of the Czechoslovak State then led to an increasing aggression of the revisionists against Romania, a situation to which the British attitude to encourage the Bulgarian claims on Southern Dobrudja contributed to a great extent. Among other things, this led Sofia to try to break the solidarity of the Balkan Entente, to isolate Romania and Greece and to create a Belgrade-Sofia-Ankara Axis, as it is revealed in the book.

The authoress portrays the atmosphere and the conditions that were reached at the signing of the Romanian-German Economic Treaty on 23rd March 1939, the spectre of an armed attack from Hungary, Bulgaria's increased pressures and the more and more obvious fact that between Sofia and Berlin the relations were better and better.

Interesting is the analysis to which the weaving interests are subjected, the pressures and steps around the Anglo-French guarantees to Greece, Poland and Romania, worthless guarantees regarding maintaining the integrity of the Romanian state. Somewhat concerned about setting a Block of Southeast Europe, away from the German control, London asked the Romanian authorities to give in to Bulgaria's pressures, with the illusory hope that it could be convinced to join the Balkan Entente. Belgrade, Ankara and Washington acted likewise. They went so far as on 17th April 1939, the Romanian Government approved the project proposed by Turkey regarding the acceptance of Bulgaria in the Balkan Entente. On 24th April 1939, Armand Calinescu presented to King Carol II the plan to achieve an agreement with Bulgaria, in case Yugoslavia withdrew from the Balkan Entente. The British asked Gafencu, who was in London between 23rd and 25th April 1939, that Romania made territorial sacrifices, which obviously was not accepted.

Meanwhile, Sofia and Berlin grew even closer, as well as Sofia and Rome, a situation that helped increase the Bulgarian revisionist propaganda abroad against Romania, issues to which the authoress reserves an analysis and an appropriate space.

The Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact on 23rd August 1939 improves dramatically the relations between Bulgaria and the USSR, Stalin encouraging the Bulgarian claims on its neighbours. Dr. Maria Costea well reviews the main aspects of the metamorphoses that occurred in the summer and autumn of 1939 in this part of Europe. Among other things, the book outlines the political and diplomatic alternation of Sofia, on the one hand the satisfaction that the Soviets would assist it in achieving its goals, on the other hand the prudence for fear of a too strong influence which Stalin would acquire on the Bulgarian Kingdom.

Based on the findings of the previous research published over time, the authoress analyses Romania's neutrality, focusing on the main actions taken by the Romanian Government to keep the country out of the conflict, including meetings and talks with the Turkish officials, approaching the German authorities. The book studies in parallel with the policy performed by the neutral Bulgaria, which persevered in its territorial claims on Romania, considering and relying on the threat made by the USSR and Hungary against Romania. Moreover, the authoress treats independently the Bulgarian leaders' behaviour in case of an armed conflict between the Soviets and the Romanians, and their attitude towards the Mutual Assistance Pact between Britain, France and Turkey. Incidentally, few data are discussed concerning the trade between Romania and Bulgaria, Romania and Germany and Bulgaria and Germany.

Romania continued to press for the establishment of a Balkan Block or a Block of the neutral, its efforts being meant to attract Bulgaria in these groups, efforts that failed, although, as well shown in the book, the Romanian diplomacy went as far as accepting some compromises with the Bulgarians and even deviating from the principle of intangibility of the borders. Bulgaria could not be persuaded to

assume the obligation to respect the status quo in the Balkans during the war, despite the kind gestures from the Yugoslav, Turkish and British diplomacies, in fact yielding gestures, encouraging the Bulgarian revisionist political circles. Bulgaria triggered a broad political and diplomatic action for the „return of South Dobrudja” peacefully, mobilising sympathies in Rome, Berlin and Moscow, but unfortunately also in London and Paris.

Germany's military successes paved Bulgaria's way towards the Axis, but without provoking the USSR.

Dr. Maria Costea analyses to an appreciable extent the practical consequences of yielding the territory claimed by the Bulgarians on Romania, the process and the precedent being inaugurated by Moscow's ultimatum notes on 26th and 27th June 1940. It was a Soviet-German competition to give satisfaction to Bulgaria, the statements to this effect becoming more and more common in the summer of 1940, which would be done also by Hungary. What were the consequences? The consequences were the pro-German orientation of Carol, too late for Berlin, the threats from the East and from the West, the Berlin's urge that the King began the negotiations with Hungary and Bulgaria, which the monarch, lost in politics and diplomacy, executed, because - he had been warned by Hitler - everything would lead to „the destruction of Romania”.

To put the opponents in agreement, Hitler summoned them in July 1940 to talks in one of his residences in Germany. During the discussions with Gigurtu and Manoilescu, Hitler said that only after Romania had yielded some territories and reached an agreement with Bulgaria and Hungary, would Germany give it security guarantees. We agree with the authoress's assessment that the documents of the meeting with Hitler prove the incompetence and cowardice of the governors in Bucharest, owned by Carol, who succumbed before negotiating.

Giving the Bulgarian diplomats assurances in the talks on 27th July, that their demands would be met, Hitler delivered an ultimatum on 31st July that Romania should yield the Southern Dobrudja, solution which „must be simply accepted „. Germany's pressures increased, so Romania's Memorandum addressed to the Axis to support its rights over South Dobrudja, on 7th August 1940, had no effect, according to the book.

From that date, no step or action of Carol's government had any significance or influence in the course of events that were dictated from the outside. The lack of official documentation regarding these actions and steps is enlightening.

The situation was different regarding the preliminaries to the Romanian-Bulgarian Conference in Craiova, within the negotiations between 19th August-7th September 1940, the archival documents being numerous, many of them unpublished, reporting on the form of the Treaty, the territorial issues, the exchange of populations, damages, evictions etc. All these aspects are subjected to a serious and relevant analysis, the authoress finding, in the position of the Romanian delegation, led by Al. Cretzianu, sufficient dignified gestures and attitudes in

relation to the Bulgarian exaggerated requests and opinions, under the impact of the Vienna Dictate.

The authoress subjects the content of the Treaty of Craiova to a careful and meticulous analysis, treaty which was signed on 7th September 1940, ratified on 10th September, the exchange of the instruments of notification taking place on 14th September 1940.

If the Romanian authorities complied with the Treaty, the Bulgarian caused nervous moments about the evacuation of the Bulgarians in North Dobrudja, by contesting the lists drawn up by the Romanian officials, by not paying the debt assumed by Sofia, concerning the balance of the crops and others.

The main conclusion of Dr. Maria Costea's book is that the Romanian-Bulgarian political and diplomatic relations in the period 1938 - 1940 were marked, if not altered, by the revisionism of Bulgaria, particularly by its territorial claims targeting Southern Dobrudja and the issue of the minorities. This revisionist policy found encouragement, understanding and support from both the totalitarian and revisionist states and the Western democracies. In other words, Romania's territorial losses were „the result of the Soviet-German agreement of August 1939, manifested in the context of the Franco-British appeasement policy for decades”.

The book, originally the PhD thesis conducted by Maria Costea, is a scientific research of definite value, it fulfils a real need in the Romanian historiography, it is well supported from the documentary point of view, it highlights the findings of some Romanian predecessors, it answers convincingly the untruths and invectives that the Bulgarian historiography launched, it uses archival documents and published documents to an appreciable extent, from Bulgaria and other countries, it is written correctly, it meets the criteria and requirements of a serious scientific enterprise.

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